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HILDBURGH

NOTES ON SINHALESE MAGIC.

BY

W. L. HILDBURGH, M.A., PH.D.

WITH PLATES XI-XVI.

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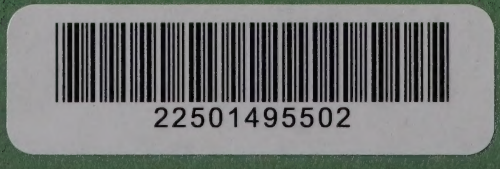

To A. R. Wright, with
the author's compliments.
Nov. 18/08.

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NOTES ON SINHALESE MAGIC.

By W. L. Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D.

[With Plates XI–XVI.]

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Introductory.

In the following notes the parts relating to charming, to devil-dancing, and to astrology in Ceylon should be regarded as supplementary to information which has been published previously, notably in *On Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon*,[1] *Yakkun Nattannawā and Kōlan Nattannawā*,[2] *The History and Doctrine of Budhism*,[3] and *Sinhalesische Masken*.[4] Repetition of what is to be found in those works has been avoided as much as possible in an attempt to give such details of ceremonies as might be of interest to the ethnologist and the folk-lorist. The parts relating to the minor magical practices (as distinguished from those particularized above), including amulets, enter, I believe, upon a field which has been but little worked.[5]

All my information (unless otherwise noted) has been taken direct from believers in, or practitioners of, the matters discussed; principally from Sinhalese, but partly from Tamils and, in a very small measure, from Indian Mohammedans. As many of the Sinhalese, especially at Colombo, are acquainted with English, frequently no interpreter was required in making enquiries as to matters known to the ordinary people. On several occasions my interpreters were Sinhalese of fair position, who had known me to have, since some years, an interest in matters magical, and who had furthered it in various ways; but in most cases I employed a charmer who spoke English, whom I found to be reliable (except as to minor details in matters of memory, where he sometimes became confused) on the various occasions when, without his knowledge, I tested him by means of information derived from independent sources. I was able, through this charmer, to obtain much information from other charmers, to whom he vouched for my interest in and knowledge of the subject, and against whose impositions, on the few occasions when such were attempted, he warned me. Freedom of speech on the part of these people was promoted, I think, by my known possession of many magical books (some of them

[1] D. De Silva Gooneratne, in *Jour. Cey. Branch R. As. Soc.*, 1865–6.

[2] J. Callaway; London, 1829.

[3] E. Upham, *The History and Doctrine of Budhism, with notices of the Kappooism, or Demon Worship, and of the Bali, or Planetary Incantations, of Ceylon*; London, 1829.

[4] A. Grünewedel, in *Internat. Archiv. f. Ethnog.*, Band VI, p. 71.

[5] In Clough's *Sinhalese-English Dict.*, 1892 ed., there are many references given, amongst the definitions, to both professional magical practices and those of the folk.

containing rare or particularly powerful mantras), and also, I believe, because in some cases I was regarded as having a knowledge of foreign magic as well as of Sinhalese.

The ordinary Sinhalese, with whom the European usually comes in contact, seems to know comparatively little about magical matters, although they have often no small part in the conduct of his life. While in many cases his ignorance is of the same nature as that of Europeans where the practices of their own physicians are concerned, it is, doubtless, in others more or less feigned, prompted by the common disinclination to speak of magical matters to strangers of superior standing, and with different beliefs. It is due to this that, while many of the notes relating to general customs and to amulets have been taken from servants, shop-keepers, and others ordinarily engaged, almost all those relating to charming and to devil-dancing have been obtained from persons engaged, to some extent at least, in the professional practice of magic.

Although a very large proportion of the Sinhalese charms are recorded (in some form) in books, I have used such books to a very limited extent in obtaining my material, and have drawn it, verbally, direct from professional operators. Owing to this (although matter concerning a ceremony as performed, and the accompanying beliefs, as related to me, are assumed to be correct), there are, in many cases, I believe, mistakes due to the reciter's faulty memory, such mistakes consisting principally of omissions or, sometimes, of confusion in the number of objects to be used in a ceremony. These mistakes are, however, I think, generally of but little consequence, and are due, where confusion occurs, to the mixing of some of the least important details of one elaborate ceremony with those of another perhaps equally elaborate. Unless otherwise stated all customs noted are those of the Sinhalese.

As an aid to the comprehension of the matters to be described, the following brief notes, taken from *On Demonology and Witchcraft in Ceylon*, on some of the essential features of Sinhalese magic concerned with devils, are appended:—The demons are of two kinds: evil spirits known as *Yaka*, who form a large community governed by a king and by a series of officers of various grades below him; and a species of inferior gods (whom I call "Benevolent Devils"), known as *Dewatawa*. It is believed that there are enormous numbers of demons in existence, although only about 50 or 60 of these enter into the demon worship. The *Yaka* do not come in person to afflict people, but act by (literally) "keeping sight" upon them, with results the same as if the devils were actually present. Sometimes, in conjunction with their other operations, the devils may, while remaining far distant, send apparitions representing themselves. The charms (mantras) are generally in Sanskrit, Tamil, or Sinhalese, although there are a few in other languages, such as Arabic, Persian, Telugu, Malaiālim, and Bengali. In some mantras a mixture of several languages is used; in others an unintelligible collection of meaningless sounds. It is said that much of the virtue of a mantra resides in the peculiar arrangements and combinations of certain letters. The science of charming is

divided into eight parts: the power of inducing swoons, illicit sexual intercourse, the expulsion of demons, compelling the attendance of demons, destruction by discord, causing death, the power of imprisoning, and the power of curing diseases, to each of which are assigned certain seasons, days, and hours for their successful performance. There is a ceremony, called *jîwama* (literally "the endowing with life"), which must be performed, in addition to the recitation of the words of the charm, the difficulty and danger attending which vary according to the result which the operator wishes to obtain.

The spelling of the Sinhalese words in the text is that, in the main, of Clough's *Sinhalese-English Dictionary*, but as, owing to the class of most of my informants, many of the words were received in a corrupt form, all have not been identified; words whose identities were not established are marked (?). The spelling of the names of the devils is that of Grünwedel, in the case of most of those referred to by him.

General Notes.

Impurity (ceremonial uncleanness)[1].—When in an unclean state a person ought not to wear anything good or valuable, for such things are liked by the gods, and they dislike them to be polluted. (Compare "Use of gold in magic.")

Evil devils are fond of the smell of the menstrual blood; benevolent devils hate it.

During her menses and for seven days thereafter a woman is unclean. Should yantras be placed upon her before the seven days are past, they will not be effective.

A person who has been charmed, for the cure of disease, the removal of evil influences, or his general benefit, should for a certain period remain pure and out of reach of contamination by persons in an impure state. As a warning to such people to keep away from the patient a few bunches of mango leaves are hung up in the outer doorway of his house.

Coconut fibre is an unclean substance, because during its manufacture it is put into dirty water or unclean places. The leaves upon which magical writings are inscribed are, consequently, never tied together by charmers with cord made of that substance. When leaves are found so fastened it is an indication that they have been tied together by some ignorant person.

See "Protection of infants" for infants' impurity; "Use of gold in magic" for sacrilegious use of gold; and "Amulets (Charmed Objects)" for loss of efficacy caused by impurity.

Use of iron in magic[2].—Iron is abhorred by devils. A reason (which is probably really the result of the belief) given for this is that the devils' king, Wesamuṇu, uses an iron rod to punish his disobedient subjects.

In certain ceremonies in which the "sight" of devils is required, the

[1] In *Dem. Cey.*, p. 88, are some notes on impurity, especially that due to a dead body.

[2] Compare notes in Thurston's *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 341.

"decorated chair" (altar of offerings) and the stool which the operator may sometimes rest upon, must be made without iron (wooden pegs are used instead of nails), or the "sight" cannot be obtained.

During thunderstorms iron objects are put outside the house and exposed to the sky. This observance was explained as due to a belief that iron is disliked by lightning, which will not come near places where iron is exposed.

Miniature swords made of iron, with scabbards of silver or gold, are sometimes worn by people as protections.

For about three weeks after (before ?) the birth of a child, a woman wears an areca-nut cutter or a grass cutter at her waist, with the blade hidden by her clothing. Should she be ill, or become ill, during that period the instrument is carried until health is regained.

A protection to keep evil spirits, the effect of the evil eye, and the like, away from a house, consists of a pair of iron ornaments, each in the form of a lion holding out a *Para-walalla* (see "Amulets," *Pañcháyuda*) painted yellow, and mounted each upon a block of wood. They are to be fastened up, one upon either post of the inner side of the entrance to the house. The iron and the *Para-walalla* are the protective parts of the device; the figure of the lion is used because that animal is beloved by gods and benevolent devils. The yellow colour has no significance. In order to increase their effect the ornaments are charmed.

See "Amulets (Misc. notes) (*Pañcháyuda*) (Children's amulets)," and "Protection of cattle," for other amuletic uses of iron; "Curative Practices (Effect of Evil Eye), (Cramp), (Head-ache)" and "Punishing devils" for uses of iron in curing; and "Astrology" for an obstructing effect of iron.

Use of gold in magic.—Gold is a substance liked by the gods, who are themselves radiant with it. It is, consequently, a kind of sacrilege for a person in an impure state to wear gold.

See "Amulets" for inserted pellet of gold; "Protection of infants" for amuletic pellets containing gold; and "Curative practices (Rat bite)."

Use of stones in magic.—See "Protection of houses," "Astrology," and "Amulets (Animal products)," for use of stones as amulets; "Votive offerings" for use of stones as *Ex-votos;* and "Love-Charms" for use of stones as counters.

Use of garlic in magic.—Authorities on magic state that the evil devils hate garlic, whereas the gods and benevolent devils are pleased by it.

Garlic, either simple or charmed, is eaten by women who have brought forth children, for the purpose of keeping off evil spirits and evils of every kind, and to promote the flow of milk.

As a cure for the diseases caused by worms (including amongst such, apparently, infantile convulsions) a child should drink woman's milk into which the juice of baked garlic has been squeezed. If drunk by the mother, this same liquid serves to protect her from various sicknesses.

Garlic is hung at the wrists of infants for three to seven days after birth, in order to protect them from worm diseases and from devils.

As a cure for head-ache, water into which some charmed garlic has been rubbed is put upon the forehead.

As a cure for ear-ache, some charmed garlic is put into the ear.

Animals in connection with magic.—In some forms of charming the devils summoned send their apparitions in the forms of various animals (see *Dem. Cey.*, p. 60; also "Killing of enemies").

The animals used in connection with magical ceremonies should always be black. The fowls, unless their colour be specified, may usually be of any colour.

There are four "clean" (pure) animals which are especially liked by the gods and the benevolent devils—the lion, the tiger, the unicorn, and the elephant. (On the "moonstones" at Anuradhapura one of the concentric semicircles is very frequently made up of a series of sets of four animals—a lion, an elephant, a horse, and a bull.)

See "Amulets (Animal Products)" and various headings under "Curative practices" for uses of animal products; "Killing of enemies" for uses of cocks employed in charming; "Protection (Perils), (Houses), (Crops)," for protections against animals; and "Change of appearance" for assumption of animal's form.

Colours in connection with magic.—Many black objects, such as black glass rings and bangles and black hair ropes, are considered to be protective. The frames of the painted or printed pictures used as charms in houses are usually black, in order to increase the protective action, or to make the picture itself safer from attacks.

Black dresses or red dresses should not be worn by children, because certain evil devils like these colours, and are attracted by them. Dark blue, because of its resemblance to black, is rather bad for children's wear. White, which is disliked by evil devils, is the best colour for children's dresses. Yellow is very good. Other colours may be used without affecting the child.

The five Buddhist colours worn together are protective.

Certain colours are beneficial to their wearers, according to the planets under which those persons were born.

See, for various notes, "Animals in connection with magic," "Love-Charms," "Curative practices (Bleeding), (Children's sicknesses)," and "Devil-dancing."

"5" *in connection with magic*[1].—The pentacle (⛤) is used as a design in the construction of yantras, and is tatued upon the body as a protection. Its five points guard the "five gates" (these are figurative or psychical entrances, not physical openings) of the body, whereat unseen enemies are constantly watching for chances to cause harm. It is sometimes branded upon cattle in four places, as a cure for lameness.

See "Love-charms," "Injury of enemies," "Killing of enemies," and "Amulets (Medicinal Substances)," for various applications of "5"; "Colours in...magic" for

[1] In Clough's *Sinhalese-English Dictionary*, under various compound words commencing with *pas* or *pañchá*, is given much folk-lore connected with "5."

use of five colours; "Amulets (*Pañcháyuda*)" for use of five symbols; and "Amulets (Metallic Amulets)" for use of five metals.

Transmutation of copper to silver.—The following recipe for changing copper to silver is evidently merely one for making a white alloy, or a tough amalgam, of silver. It was given from memory.

The liquids used are:—

(*a*) A decoction of about twenty sliced lemons boiled with a handful of salt.

(*b*) One measure of juice extracted from the bark of an old mango-tree.

(*c*) Three measures of lemon juice.

(*d*) Three measures of the juice of the *kámuraṅgá* (a kind of bilimbi, *Averrhoa carambola*) fruit.

(*e*) Three measures of the juice of the *bilin* (*Averrhoa bilimbi*, country gooseberry) fruit.

(*f*) One measure of the milk (juice) of the *elawará* (*?*) [*hela-wará* (*?*)], a kind of milkweed plant.

The copper is first buried in the earth for three days. After exhumation it is heated and plunged into (*a*). It is next cleaned with a kind of fine sand, and is then plunged into the liquids (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), and (*e*) in turn, being heated before, and cleaned after, each plunging. After these operations the copper is melted in a crucible with two cents in weight of mercury. To this amalgam are added one cent in weight of silver, one cent in weight of old coin silver, and one cent in weight of iron sulphate (apparently, but, although said to be green, possibly alum), and all are melted together. The melted mixture is poured into the milkweed juice (*f*), and the product is then re-melted and poured into (*f*) again, the operation being repeated until (usually after from five to seven pourings) the metal loses its brittleness (as tested by hammering), when the operation is finished.

Miscellaneous notes.—A person who is lying down should not be stepped over, for the watching of the benevolent devils would thus be turned from him. A person should, for the same reason, not place his hand upon another person's head, nor take anything from another person's head. Compare "Divination (By an ordeal)."

The leg is the least honourable part of the body, wherefore being kicked is much more offensive to a person than being struck with the hand.

In many charming ceremonies water from a "new well" is required. Such a well may be made by scooping out or digging a small hole in the soil near the edge of a stream or a body of water, and allowing it to fill by drainage.

ASTROLOGY.

Horoscopes.—A *welá-pat-kaḍa* ("time-leaf-piece") is a sheet whereon are given the data relating to the birth of an applicant for a horoscope. Ola-leaves are generally used, but paper is often employed as the base. A *welá-pat-kaḍa* is

prepared by the astrologer when the applicant's first horoscope is constructed, and serves, since other copies are not required, as a basis for any horoscope the applicant may order later.

Horoscopes have, almost invariably, the form of a roll, for the reason that it is considered necessary to write each horoscope upon a single ola-leaf, which is best preserved in rolled form. Horoscopes, in the language in which they are prepared, can be read only by the initiated, for which reason people sometimes have their horoscopes translated into ordinary language; the translations may, unlike the actual horoscope, be written in ordinary books without prejudicial effects.

Amulets.—The favour of the planets may be secured, or unfavourable influences due to them neutralised, by means of written amulets (see "Yantras"). The favour of a planet may be secured, or evils due to it averted, by wearing the stone which represents it, or by wearing a certain colour. A planetary stone ought not to be set with iron, nor ought brass, which is a base metal, be used with it; it should be set in gold, silver or copper.

The *Nawaratna*-ring, a favourite amulet among the better classes of Sinhalese, is a finger-ring, almost always of gold, set with nine gems (*Nawaratna* = nine precious-stones) and suitably charmed. The nine gems used are representative of the nine planets (sometimes each is thought to have the colour of the planet to which it corresponds), and ought to be perfect stones. *Narwaratna*-rings are worn as correctives of malign planetary influences, to bring good fortune, against the effect of the evil eye, etc. Rings and other ornaments set with the nine gems are commonly sold by the Sinhalese jewellers, but no amuletic virtues are ascribed to these, which are worn as ordinary personal jewellery. *Nawaratna*-rings, which have been properly charmed, are hard to get, and very expensive. There appear to be three quite distinct methods of imparting magical virtues to a *Nawaratna*-ring:—(*a*) (communicated by a wearer of such a ring) By setting each stone, one at a time, under the influence of the planet to which it corresponds; thus years sometimes are required for the completion of the ring; (*b*) (communicated by a vendor of uncharmed rings) By placing the completed ring, with other objects to which magical properties are to be given, in the preaching-shed during the ceremonies to clear a village of disease, and afterward subjecting it to some special blessings by the priests; and (*c*) (communicated by a charmer) By charming the mechanically completed ring by regular charming ceremonies. The charming ceremonies should extend over a considerable period, the longer the better. Some rings are endowed with their virtues by nine charmings in one day, some by nine charmings in four and a-half days (= nine half-days), some by a charming each morning and evening during nine weeks, and others, the best that are made, by a charming each morning and evening during nine months. For the charming a considerable number of things are used, including nine kinds of flowers, nine kinds of buds, nine kinds of water, etc. The nine kinds of water are as follows: river-water, lake-water (from a body of water with an outlet), pond-water (from a body of water without an outlet), well-water, rain-water; water on leaves after

rain, water in the cavities of trees, water in the fields after rain, and water in the hollows of rocks on mountains after rain.[1]

See also "Amulets (*Pañcháyuda*)."

MISCELLANEOUS MAGIC.

CHARMERS.

Miscellaneous notes.—Should a charmer make even a slight mistake during the performance of a "serious" charming ceremony (*i.e.*, a ceremony for which he has summoned the "sight" of powerful and malignant devils), he renders himself liable to an immediate attack by the devils he has called upon, resulting in serious injury and perhaps in death. It is for this reason that the mantras for such ceremonies must be learned by heart, and not read from a book during the performance, since in reading a mistake may easily be made. A charmer prefers to learn from an old book rather than from a new one, because there is a smaller chance of errors, due to copying, in the former.[2] The verses of other kinds which are recited during various curative and protective ceremonies must also be learned by heart, because, although no danger due to slight mistakes in their recital need be apprehended, the charmer cannot hold a book (his hands being otherwise occupied), nor read while dancing.

A peril to which a charmer is exposed while engaged in "serious" charming is that some rival charmer, jealous of him, or angry at not having been himself chosen, may render the summoning of the devils' "sight" not merely difficult, but even dangerous.

A charmer always, if possible, allows his hair to grow long. Should he, as often happens during the performance of "serious" charming, be overcome by the devils he has summoned, he is revived by his assistant, who pours charmed water upon him and ties knots, accompanying the process by the recital of certain mantras, in his hair. Such knots are tied only for the purpose of reviving the operator; were they to be made before the ceremony, in order to protect him, he would find it difficult, or impossible, to get the devils' "sight," since the charmed knots are distasteful to them.

A less important reason for the hair being kept long is that in some ceremonies it is required that the charmer dress as a woman (compare "Curative Practices, Barrenness"). In certain of the ceremonies in which he plays a woman's part three strands of his hair are plaited together, and the braid thus formed is stretched from one side of the head upward, toward the middle of the top of the forehead.

Sons are born to charmers as frequently as to other men, but the proportion

[1] In *Yakkun Nattannawa*, "Practices of a Capua," p. 20, five kinds of water are mentioned for a charming ceremony: water from cavities of an iron-tree, from a brick-kiln, a place where clothes are washed, a place haunted by devils, and a blacksmith's trough. These seem to me to represent the Buddhist five elements—wood, earth, water, fire (?), and iron.

[2] One form of the danger is treated of at length in *Dem. Cey.*, pp. 60, 61.

of such children who die is, it is said, much greater than the normal. This circumstance is attributed to the action of the devils, who fear lest the sons may, when grown, follow their fathers' profession, and command the devils as their fathers did before them. Should a charmer find that his sons always die during their childhood, he may (as did some of the charmers with whom I was acquainted) give up "serious" charming for a number of years, until his boys have passed through the dangerous period.

Should a charmer be unclean (as from eating forbidden food, such as pork, for example), he will have difficulty in obtaining the "sight" of the devils he wishes to summon. For this reason charmers are more careful than other men with regard to impurity in general.

When he wishes to summon the "sight" of one or more devils, before the main part of a charming ceremony, the charmer, taking some prepared *dummala* powder in his right hand, and holding it near to his mouth, pronounces over it a kind of mantra called *dummala-warama*. Then he casts the powder upon burning coals, allowing the smoke to come upon him, thus drawing to himself the "sight" of the devils he requires, which causes him to shake and to shiver. Some of the *dummala-warama* are so terrible and so powerful that they are seldom set down in writing, but are transmitted verbally, generally by a father to one only of his sons; should the charmer write them out, as an aid to his memory, he usually buries secretly the leaves bearing them, before he dies. Should strangers wish to learn such mantras as these, the charmer who teaches them exacts a high fee for his services.

When the prepared *dummala* powder (resin with a small amount of nitre) is thrown upon a burning torch, as is done in some ceremonies, it burns with almost explosive rapidity, giving a sudden flash; it is probable that the introduction, as a factor in so many charming ceremonies, of the powder, the smell of whose smoke is believed to be liked by the evil devils, has been aided by this action.

LOVE-CHARMS.

With waxen images.—The following method may be applied at the instance of either a man or a woman; naturally, it is generally done for the former. Two images, a male and a female (the difference in sex being indicated principally by the breasts of the female, which are absent in the male) are formed of a mixture of five kinds of wax, such as the wax of the humble bee, of the large black bee, of the kaneyiya fly, etc. As the relative proportions of these ingredients are immaterial, comparatively small quantities of those which are expensive are generally used in the mixture. To each image there may be attached a paper bearing the name of the person represented; or the personality of the image may be indicated in some other way. For the charming a "decorated chair" (altar of offerings, a chair is generally used for convenience) is prepared as follows:—The seat of the chair is covered with plantain leaves, and a handkerchief (or some similar cloth) of five colours is hung over the back. Upon the plantain leaves there are laid

some areca flowers, arranged to form nine compartments, in each of which there is a betel leaf upon which lies a small copper coin (a ½-cent piece), the middle compartment containing, in addition, a small silver coin, all the coins being covered with flowers. Upon the plantain leaves there are laid a number of other objects—a leaf of the jak-fruit tree rolled as a cone and smeared with wet sandal-wood powder, one or two bits of camphor, three or four sticks of sandal-incense, a piece of fresh tamarind, a small bottle of scent (such as cologne-water), a hen's egg, a woman's hair-combing comb, and, finally, the two images upon a layer of flowers of five kinds (preferably sweet-scented flowers, though any kind except *kaduru* (dog-bane) flowers may be used). The images are laid with the breasts alone in contact, the male above and across the female so that his head is beyond her left side, and the lower part of his body beyond the right (position as used by my informant, who had performed the charm on several occasions). The charming is done in an empty house (where no contaminating influences are likely to interfere), or in a cemetery, a partially opened grave, or some similarly suitable place, at evening, midnight, and morning, and until it is completed the operator must be careful not to become in any way impure (it is, indeed, preferable for him to keep away from all women during the whole of the day of the ceremony). Before commencing the ceremony the charmer cleanses himself thoroughly with limes and water, and puts on clean clothing. During the performance all the objects employed, from the "decorated chair" to the stool (should he use one) upon which the operator sits, are thoroughly fumigated with charmed *dummala* powder thrown upon hot coals. The ceremony begins, on each occasion, with the recital, seven times, of a charm to attract Vishnu's attention, and to ask his permission to proceed. This is followed by the recital, 108 times (the counting being marked by the use of stones held in the hand), of a mantra wherein the operator bids certain five devils, whom he names, to hearken unto him exclusively, and whom he tells (where a woman is the victim) "the woman that I mention make to tremble, her blood, her flesh, her chest, the hair of her body; and cause her to come to the place I indicate, to obey me." During the recital of the mantras the operator kneels before the "decorated chair." When the charming has been completed, early in the morning, the images are separated and (in this case) the female image is carried in the hand, behind the back (in order that it may not be injured by the breath of the person carrying it), without a single word being spoken, to the woman's house, and is there buried secretly in a spot where she will be sure to step over it. The male image, meanwhile, is carried by the lover. When the female image has been stepped over by the woman it is exhumed and, placed against the male image, is carried by the lover. The effect of the charming is to cause the woman to look after her lover when he passes, and to think of him to the exclusion of all else. Should marriage take place, in order that the affection of the couple may continue, the images ought to be buried in a deep hole and covered with a large stone. Should it be desired at any time to break the spell the male image (in the above case) is buried where the woman will step over it, whereby her love is caused to

turn to hatred. When the spell has been broken the image may be left where it lies, or it may be exhumed (as is more often the case) for use in similar ceremonies.

After the victim has stepped over her (or his) image, that image, when being carried by the operator (or lover), should, preferably, never be allowed to get lower than his own waist. Should the image be dropped accidentally, it should be picked up by the person who has dropped it, *without his moving a step* from the spot at which he let it fall.

The prominence of the number *five* in this charming was explained as due to the necessity of turning the beloved one's "five passions" toward the lover.

With a flower.—The following method is applicable only to a *virgin*; it is applicable neither to other women nor to men. A flower having been charmed in a certain manner, the victim develops an irresistible craving for it the moment she sees it, and will do anything to obtain it. The lover carries the flower in his right hand while passing the girl, and she is thus impelled to come to speak to him, and, because of her desire for the flower, to do whatsoever he may ask, in the hope that she may obtain it. The flower may be promised to the victim, but must not be given her, since the moment it enters her possession the spell is broken.

See also "Charms to Secure Favour."

Charms to Secure Favour.

With waxen images.—Two *male* images are formed of the mixture of five waxes described under "Love-Charms," into one of which the name of the applicant for favour is placed, the other receiving the name of the judge, governor, or other man whose favour is desired. The images are then charmed in the same manner as those of the love charm, the victim's image is placed where he will step over it, and the other operations are conducted in similar form.

With medicines.—A certain kind of charmed oil, called *Waisia-taila* (?) ("Liking-oil (?)"), requiring an elaborate process of preparation, is rubbed upon the person or dress of him whose favour or friendship is sought. When it is impossible to apply the oil to the victim its possessor may, to secure the result desired, rub a little upon his own forehead. An oil of the same kind may be used as a love charm.

A certain kind of charmed paste, called *Waisia-andun* ("Liking-ointment (?)") which requires an elaborate process of preparation, and which should be preserved in a box made of bell-metal (a choice metal), is rubbed beneath his eyes by its possessor before he enters the presence of the person whose favour is sought. In order that the charm should succeed it is necessary that the applicant be clean and in clean clothing, and that it be noted, by the victim, that the applicant's skin beneath the eyes is blackened. A paste, presumably of similar nature, is used as a love-charm.

By amulets.—An amulet which will cause all persons, and even animals, to like the wearer of it, and which will protect him from the fury of the elements, may be made from the shells of the eggs of the birds which build their nests upon

the walls of houses. Some of these shells having been enclosed in an amulet-case, the whole is charmed, at evening, midnight, and morning, in a cemetery, and, when the charming is finished, is tied, by means of a string with seven charmed knots, upon the wrist or arm, where it will be exposed to the view of those whose favour is desired.

The "jackal's horn," described under "Amulets (Animal products)," is used as a means of securing favour. See also "Amulets (Yantras)."

INJURY TO ENEMIES.

By giving griping pains.—The victim's name is scratched upon a copper coin, which is then charmed upon a "decorated chair." Whenever the victim is to suffer, the charmed piece of copper is placed amongst the embers of a fire made of five kinds of wood of *pas-pẹngiri* trees (trees bearing citrus fruits, such as orange, mandarin orange, lemon, lime, etc.); so long as the metal remains hot the victim will have griping pains.

By paralyzing the mouth.—The operator, hearing his victim speaking or singing, charms the palms of his hands, and then, having separated them, claps them together suddenly. The victim's mouth is thus caused to remain fixed in whatever position, open or shut, it was at the instant the operator clapped his hands, the victim having lost control over it. As a cure, one of the victim's friends charms the palm of his own hand and slaps the victim's face with it.

By paralyzing the throat.—The operator, seeing his victim eating, recites a certain mantra seven times, and then, at a moment when he sees that his victim is swallowing, clicks his tongue in his mouth. The victim's throat is thus caused to become instantly paralyzed, so that his food will go neither up nor down. As a cure, one of the victim's friends recites a certain curative mantra seven times, while holding his thumb and index finger, spread apart, round the front of the victim's throat.

By causing sudden illness.—Some dust is taken from a print of the victim's right foot, and is dropped into a small king-coconut bearing a picture representing the victim, and having its top cut off, after which the whole is charmed. If at any time thereafter a little of the charmed liquid be dropped into one of his footprints, the victim will at once fall down ill, although not very seriously so. When some of the liquid has been used the efficacy of the remainder is gone. As a cure, the victim drinks the milk of a coconut over which a curative mantra has been recited.

By causing sickening.—An image representing the victim is carved from a certain kind of wild yam (not the cultivated, edible variety), which, to render its identity more certain, may be labelled. (In an image of this kind, made for me, the hair is represented as hanging down, because, the charmer said, a person's hair falls down when he is beaten.) Three thorns of one of the varieties of *pas-pẹngiri* trees, having been charmed, are driven, with the recitation of mantras, into the head, the breast, and the navel of the image. The image is then buried in some

spot where the victim will be sure to step over it, and is left there until he has done so, when it is removed from the ground and kept. The victim will become very ill, and, possibly, may die. The operator may, at any time, cause the sickness to stop, by withdrawing the thorns, reciting a mantra for each, and finally putting them into water. As a cure, one of the methods of removing the effects of sorcery (see "Curative Practices") is applied.

By causing incontinence of urine.—This spell is applied to women. Some dust is taken from a urinal which the victim is accustomed to use, and, having been charmed, is worn in a packet upon the arm for about a month. The packet is then buried where the victim will be sure to step over it, and, when she has done so, is removed from the ground and kept. The victim will pass urine unceasingly until the spell is broken, which result may be accomplished at any time by throwing the dust into water.

By causing a flow of blood.—The following method, which is applied to women, causes the victim to flow blood (as during her menses) unceasingly, until she becomes very ill, and, if not cured, dies; it is called *Kilimálé* ("Bloody-issue"). A bunch of twigs and buds of the creeper *niviti-wel* (Malabar nightshade [*Basella alba*]; I was told, although possibly mistakenly, that a non-poisonous variety is used), having been charmed upon a "decorated chair," is tied to a saffron-dyed thread, the other end of which is attached to an object upon the bank of a stream, on whose surface the bunch is allowed to float. As long as the bunch floats upon the stream the victim will flow blood, just as the water flows. Should, as sometimes happens, the bunch become detached, so that it floats away, the victim inevitably dies.

In another method (not limited to women) for causing continuous bleeding, the operator, seeing the blood of his victim coming forth, in however small a quantity, causes the bleeding to continue until the spell is broken.

By causing discord.—A picture resembling a person, with the name of either the husband or the wife of the couple between whom discord is to be produced written upon it, is drawn upon paper or upon a plantain leaf, with powder made from the root of a certain creeper. The picture, having been charmed, is torn into halves, one of which is presented to a certain devil, while the other is retained by the operator. The discord thus produced may, if prolonged, end in separation. In order to break the spell, both husband and wife should step over the half of the picture retained by the operator.

Killing of Enemies.

By means of a corpse.—The corpse of a boy less than seven years old, the first-born of a couple each of whom was a first-born child, is exhumed and is charmed in the cemetery. During the charming ceremony various apparitions of devils appear, in the forms of tigers, foxes, bears, elephants, wild bulls, pigs, etc., which must instantly be supplied with their proper foods, lest they injure the operator. An assistant should be at hand, with charmed water from a "new well"

(see "General Notes (Misc. notes)") in a new pot in readiness, with which to revive the operator whenever he becomes insensible through being overcome by the devils. When the corpse has been charmed three times (at evening, midnight, and morning) it is taken to a house (preferably unoccupied), and is laid upon a clean white cloth upon a chair, with a few (about ten) small jingle-bells on each wrist, and a rattan cane in its right hand. Then, a small opening to the outer air having been made in the roof above, the corpse is charmed. Of a sudden the bells upon the wrists are heard to jingle, and the corpse disappears, leaving its place empty, but only for a moment, for it reappears almost instantly. During its absence the corpse visits the victim, and kills, or at least severely injures him (unless turned back by counter-magic) by striking him with the rattan. When the ceremony has been completed the corpse is cleansed with limes and water, and is put away and kept by the charmer. (This charm, the name of which was given me as "*Tun-kuluṇdul Pilli*" ["Three-first-born killing-spell"], is similar to that described in *Dem. Cey.*, pp. 88, 89, under the name of "*Cumara Pilli*," though differing in a number of details.)

By means of a pair of hands.—(The following information was brought to me, together with the two ivory hands, from a charmer in a jungle village, and passed, partly verbally, partly in writing, through two persons before it reached me. Both these persons were charmers whom I knew, but neither of them had ever heard of the method as given. The hands brought appear at one time to have formed the principal parts of a pair of back-scratchers, and to have been adapted later, by the engraving of magical words, such as *Óm*, *Hum*, "be victorious," etc., and of magical signs, to some magical purpose. Although my information was not obtained at first-hand, I have reasons for assuming that no attempt was made to impose upon me in the matter. I give the information as I received it, believing that, even if it be not true, it is worth preserving as folk-lore.)—The hands, which are made of the bone of a man's forehead, are charmed, and each laid upon its own "decorated chair." The devil Mahâsohon having been summoned, the charming is proceeded with until the proper mantra has been recited 108 times, at which moment one hand, jumping up from its chair, joins the other hand. One of the hands is then buried in some place where the victim will be sure to pass over it, while the other is retained by the operator. At the moment the victim passes over the buried hand he is struck by the devil Mahâsohon so severely that, unless a charmer be called in to cure him, he dies within a day or two. The mark of the devil's fingers appears where the victim has been struck.

By means of a cock.—The operator, having partially dug out a new grave, lies down in it, upon a new mat, with a "decorated chair" over his breast, and a white cock (from whose comb seven drops of blood have been taken and placed amongst the objects on the chair) tied to the great toe of his right foot. Various foods are at hand, to be given to the apparitions as they come, and an assistant stands by ready with charmed water to revive the operator whenever he becomes insensible,

or grinds his teeth in his ecstatic agitation. Amongst the objects upon the "decorated chair" are five thorns, taken from five different kinds of *pas-peṇgiri* trees. When the charming has been gone through three times, the chair and the cock are taken to a house (preferably unoccupied) where there are neither unclean things nor women about. The operator lifts one of the cock's wings, and places one of the thorns against a tender spot beneath it; then, having recited a certain mantra and mentioned the victim's name, he pushes the thorn in just far enough to draw blood. At the instant the cock cries out in agony the victim dies, bleeding. The thorn is not withdrawn, but is allowed to fall out of itself, a result which soon occurs. The thorns remaining may be used, without further charming, to kill other persons, being, in each case, used with a white cock, never before used in charming, which has been charmed by exposure to the smoke of *dummala* powder over which a mantra has been recited; the only variation in each case consists in the name of the victim who is mentioned.

A cock which has been used in this ceremony is regarded as having been given to a devil, and is never afterwards used in charming ceremonies. It is taken away by the charmer and, after having been kept awhile by him, is sold. A cock which has been charmed is thought to be particularly suited for cock-fighting, since it is, more or less, under the protection of a devil, and it is usually bought for that purpose. No one cares to eat the flesh of a charmed fowl, which causes many people to have a prejudice against buying white cocks for food. It is, however, generally possible to recognize fowls which have been used for charming, since the wound whence the charmer draws the blood leaves a light-coloured scar upon the red comb. (It seems probable that the use of the blood, in this and in other injury charms, is a softened form of the actual sacrifice of the bird, a thing which would be repugnant to Buddhists as devout as are many of the Sinhalese charmers. A charmer whom I had various opportunities of observing was very careful not to injure animals, nor even insects which annoyed him in any way; I do not know, however, whether this man would practise charms causing serious injury to persons, since many charmers refrain from such. It is possible that the dislike to taking life applies only directly, and not when the action is produced through the agency of devils, instead of by the charmer's own hand.)

By blowing peppers.—A certain mantra having been recited (without elaborate ceremonial) over some peppers of a certain kind held in the hand, the peppers are taken into the operator's mouth and, being bitten into pieces, are blown out in the direction of the wind (the operator standing with his back to the wind). When the pieces are blown out, the victim simultaneously falls down, bleeding from the nose and ears, and, soon after, dies.

By flowers.—A *man's* grave having been opened, the operator goes into the excavation and charms the body until it sits up and protrudes its tongue, which is then at once cut off by the operator, for use as an object very powerful in sorcery. If flowers, together with a tongue thus obtained, be properly charmed, upon a "decorated chair," any one of the flowers, if thrown upon the victim, will cause

him instantly to fall down, bleeding from nose and ears, as though he were attacked by a devil.

According to another informant (who was not a charmer) an oil, very powerful for working evil, may be extracted from a tongue obtained in the manner described.

CHANGE OF APPEARANCE AND INVISIBILITY.

There is a charmed mixture of certain medicines, including the ashes of some hairs taken from a black cat, which, when rubbed upon the face near the eyes, makes the operator, although present in his own shape, appear to other people as a black cat. The assistance of the devil Bâhirâva (see "Thieves (Charms, etc.)") is invoked in the making of the mixture. The charming is not so dangerous as that used for the substance following.

There is a charmed mixture of certain medicines which, rubbed upon the face near the eyes, produces invisibility at night. The charming of the mixture is conducted in a grave less than seven days old, and is attended with extreme danger to the operator, as he summons the "sight" of three powerful devils who, should he make the slightest mistake, set upon him and kill him instantly.

THIEVES (CHARMS USED BY, OR AS A PROTECTION AGAINST).

Charmed sleep.—A stick of some one of the *pas-pĕṇgiri* woods is wrapped in a piece of cloth containing a mixture of the three powders *dummala*, *kaṭṭakumanchal* (frankincense), and *kĕkunamala*, and, shortly before being used, is dipped into coconut oil. The torch thus formed is taken to the house to be entered, and, having been lighted and a certain mantra recited over it, its smoke is blown through the keyhole of the outer door. The inmates of the house will, in consequence, not awaken until sunrise. (The torch is called *Bâhirâva-pandama* (Bâhirâva's-torch); Bâhirâva, a powerful earth-spirit (see below) is appealed to because the Sinhalese usually sleep upon the ground.)

A certain mantra (called "*Nidi-mantra*," "Sleep-mantra") is written upon a piece of palm-leaf which, held in the right hand, is exposed to the smoke of *dummala* powder thrown upon coals with the left. The charmed leaf is thrown into the house to be entered, whereby the inmates are caused to sleep soundly until the person who has thrown the leaf steps into cold water.

Charmed keys.—A key is attached to a cord, and is held by this, in one hand, by the operator, who, absolutely naked (without so much as a string upon his body), enters a stream or a body of water, up to his knees, to perform the ceremony. The operator holds in his other hand a lighted torch, while beside him floats a vessel containing *dummala* powder. Having taken up some of the *dummala*, he throws it upon the torch, and, swinging the key through the smoke thus produced, recites a certain very "serious" mantra 108 times. The charming having been completed the key is taken *immediately, no word being spoken* before its employment, to the lock which it is to open.

Miscellaneous charms.—Thieves sometimes employ a method (which is also used by friends to play a trick on a family) to cause a house to appear suddenly as if filled with serpents, whereupon the people in it rush out, leaving it unprotected. It consists in throwing a small quantity of a certain oil into the flame of a lamp. The oil is produced by placing the dead body of a whip snake (*ehetulla*), after having buried it for a day or two, in a vessel in the sun, and it is afterwards charmed in a cup formed from a human skull.

[See also "Change of Appearance, and Invisibility."]

Protection from thieves.—The *Pirit-yantra*, a yantra founded upon the *Pirit* sutra of Buddha, will keep thieves as well as evil spirits away from a house. There is another yantra, called *Aghoré* (?) which, framed and hung up, will protect a house from thieves.

Oil charmed in a certain manner, if burned during the night, will cause any thieves who may enter the house to come to the lamp in which it is burning, and, standing before it, with the palms together as if in salutation, to wait quietly until captured.

When valuable jewellery is to be interred with a person, charmed oil is sometimes rubbed upon the corpse's head, in order to prevent thieves from opening and looting the grave.

Bâhirâva is a very powerful devil who dwells within the ground, one of whose duties is the guarding of treasures hidden therein, so that only the rightful owners, the descendants of the persons to whom treasures formerly belonged, can obtain them.

Punishment of thieves.—Charms to cause injury or death are employed as a revengeful punishment for the thieves. If the thief be unknown, connection with him is established by means of something with which he has been in contact (such as earth from one of his footprints); should he be known, an effect more powerful, somewhat in proportion to the knowledge possessed, can be obtained. In one case, which occurred during my stay in Ceylon, a charmer whom I knew was called in to cause injury to a man who had run off with some money. The thief's mother, however, having heard of the plan to injure her son and fearing its terrible consequences to him, secured and returned the stolen money. In this instance the charmer received half the amount of the fee to which he would have become entitled had the money been obtained through his actual operations.

Detection of thieves.—For various methods of determining the perpetrator of a theft see "*Divination.*"

Gambling.

There are mantras for the charming of coins which, when placed as a stake or part of a stake, invariably (unless conquered by some more powerful magic) cause their owners to win. [A copy of one such charm, famous for its efficacy, from the Galle district, having come into my possession, I was begged (and

even offered presents of books) by several of my acquaintances, charmers themselves, who learned that I had it, for permission to make copies for their own use.]

See also "Amulets (Metallic Amulets)."

AMUSING AND TRICK CHARMS.

Under this heading are given charms performed for the amusement, sometimes malicious, of the operator, or of his companions, or in order to impress spectators with a sense of the charmer's power. It should be noted that charms regarded as amusing in their results are possibly merely enfeebled versions of charms to cause injury; thus, for example, the charm given in *Dem. Cey.*, pp. 65–67, to cause devils to throw stones incessantly at a house until the inmates are driven out, was described to me as a means of causing not very serious annoyance.

In the place of some of her eggs, seven areca-nuts are put beneath a sitting hen, and are allowed to remain until the other eggs hatch. After removal from the nest the nuts are kept until needed for the trick. When a drum (the noise of which may become monotonous, even annoying), which the operator desires to burst, is heard, he places one of the areca-nuts between the jaws of an areca-nut cutter, and having recited a certain mantra over it, closes the jaws of the instrument while the drum is sounding, thus causing, instantly, the membrane of the drum to burst.

If a palm-leaf upon which a certain mantra is inscribed be put beneath a mortar used for pounding rice, any woman who uses that mortar will let out wind in time with each of her strokes; if two women use the mortar together, both will be thus affected. When an occurrence of this sort takes place an investigation is made, and the charm, if it has been used, is at once revealed.

If a palm-leaf upon which a certain mantra is written be hung in a well, each woman who draws water from that well will find that her waist-cloth drops each time she puts her jar of water under her arm to carry it, causing her to put down the jar in order to readjust the waist-cloth. Investigation being made, the hanging palm-leaf is at once discovered and removed.

In order to attract attention Sinhalese call out *hoo*, a sound similar to that made by owls, to each other. If a piece of bark, taken from a tree upon which sit two owls hooting to each other, be charmed and buried by the door of a house, whenever a person comes out of that door he will think that he hears someone within the house calling him, whereupon, returning, he answers, and much confusion results.

(For a charm to cause a house to appear as though filled with serpents see "Thieves (Charms, etc.)")

If some paddy (rice in the husk) be put upon a clean cloth held outstretched by two men, and this cloth be struck, so as to make the paddy jump up and down, by a person who has previously recited a certain mantra over the hand with which he strikes, the grains will burst open and become like paddy which has been roasted.

If a certain mantra be recited by a person he is thereby enabled, having thrown his hair (long hair is commonly worn by the Sinhalese, and particularly by charmers) toward a wall or an archway, to cause it to remain attached there, sometimes so strongly as even to support his weight.

There is a certain kind of magical paste which, when rubbed upon the face just beneath the eyes, causes the person using it to appear, to persons about him, to be doing various extraordinary things, whereas he is actually doing nothing of the kind.

A performance of the same nature as "fire-walking" ceremonies was gone through for me at Colombo. The performer was a Sinhalese workman, who said that the mantra he used in it was a somewhat secret one which had descended to him through his father. The performance was gone through merely to illustrate to me, at a moment's notice, the power of magic, and no charge was made for it. Some Sinhalese who were with me at the time, appeared to be much impressed, although they had seen the trick done before. A piece of iron was heated to redness, while a small boy ran out to fetch a bowl of water. When the water arrived the performer stirred it with one of his tools, meanwhile muttering his mantra over it; nothing, I think, was added to the water. Having placed the piece of red-hot iron upon the ground, and having poured the charmed water over his foot, he placed the foot firmly upon the iron, keeping it there until the smell of burnt flesh became quite strong. He then exhibited his foot, which showed a fresh burn upon the thickened flesh at the heel, and finally stamped upon the ground with it, in order to show that it gave him no pain.

It is possible to charm a target (such as a coconut) so that, when it is hung up, marksmen cannot hit it. My informant (a charmer) told me that he had seen such targets set up on various occasions, and that even Europeans had been unable to touch them.

Divination.

To detect a thief.—The names of all the persons suspected of the theft having been written upon separate sheets of paper, and these having been charmed, all are together put into a fire. All the slips will be consumed, excepting the one which bears the culprit's name.

The names of seven persons suspected of the theft having been written upon seven slips of paper, the slips are laid out with a white cowry-shell opposite to each. The arrangement is then charmed, causing the shell opposite to the slip bearing the culprit's name (if it be there) to slide over to indicate it.

The names of all the persons suspected are written upon separate slips of paper, and each of these is then rolled up into the form of a cylinder. The set of papers having been divided into two parts, one of these is placed upon a man's head, the other upon the ground at his feet. Then, a pair of jointed rods having been formed, each by joining loosely the ends of two sticks of *burulla* wood, two other

men take each one end of each of these rods, and hold them by the arms of the first man, at the level of his shoulders, while a fourth man walks round the group fumigating them by means of *dummala* powder which he throws upon a pot of coals which he carries, and the requisite mantras are recited. The charming causes the joints in the rod to bend toward the pile containing the culprit's name—upward, if it be on the head; downward, if it be on the ground. The pile thus selected is divided into two parts, the other pile being rejected, and the ceremony of selection is repeated, until finally, through successive divisions and selections, one slip only, that which bears the culprit's name, is left.

A certain kind of table, having a circular top, and but one leg, which has been charmed, is employed. The persons suspected having placed their hands upon the top of the table, it leans toward the culprit, no matter where he stands in the circle, nor how he changes his position.

A fowl having been charmed, each of the persons suspected touches in turn the bird, which, silent when touched by innocent persons, will crow at once upon being touched by the culprit. As a means of proving that a person has actually touched the fowl, some oil, which will rub off on the fingers, is put on the bird's back.

By an ordeal.—In order to determine the truth or falsity of a statement, the person making it may be asked to step over something (such as the comb, the head-cloth, or a few hairs of the head) taken from the head of the person disputing it, while repeating at the same time the doubtful statement. Should the statement be untrue the person making it will, it is believed, injure himself severely by slipping, or in some other manner, during the trial, or, if not then, certainly within seven days.

During a religious ceremony—For divination by a *kapuwá*, during a dancing ceremony for the relief of an afflicted village, see "Curative ractices (Curing by invocation of deities)."

By professional diviners.—A book for divination used by itinerant fortune-tellers consists of a number of small ola-leaves (in one instance, twenty-eight), upon each of which is an answer to some question. The applicant, having concentrated his mind upon the question to which he wants an answer, places the cord used for binding the leaves together between them at random; the answer is shown upon the leaf thus exposed.

By omens.—Dung dropped upon a person by a bird flying above him is an omen foretelling circumstances which vary with the bird's species; similarly, dung left upon a sleeping person by a rat or a lizard is a means of foretelling future events. There are books which are consulted for the elucidation of these omens.

There are methods of determining, by the markings of a pregnant woman's blood-vessels, whether her child will be a boy or a girl.

Should something belonging to a person break, towards evening, after he has had a day of ill-luck, the omen is a good one, and indicates that the run of ill-luck is broken; if the thing broken is only of small value its owner is fortunate in escaping so easily.

CURATIVE MAGIC.

Devil-Dancing.

Miscellaneous Notes.—Some of the devils represented by the devil-dancer, with the aid of his costumes, are the devils who actually afflict the patient; others are powerful devils by whom the afflicting devils are controlled, and, in the ceremony, ordered to depart; and others (according to some explanations) are devils who are afflicted as the patient is afflicted, and who suggest that the afflicting devil transfer his "sight" from the patient to them, in the expectation that he will have brotherly compassion (as a fellow devil) upon them, and, after leaving the man, will afflict neither them nor him. A list of some of the more important of these devils may be found in *Dem. Cey.*

According to the statements of several devil-dancers the purpose of the performance appears in some cases (not in all; probably in some cases of possession) to frighten, not the afflicting devil, but the patient. Some of the costumes worn, with the action accompanying them, used at night (when devil-dances always take place) undoubtedly affect strongly persons who are not in their customary state of mind.

"Devil-dancing" (taking the term as generally used by the English in Ceylon) is of several types; that of most of the dancers who have been taken on tour to various parts of the world, and of those who, at Kandy, perform (in a manner, it need hardly be said, more spectacular than accurate) for the benefit of visitors, differs considerably from the type illustrated in the photographs.

The dresses used in the dances of the kind represented by the specimens are always, I have been told, red, black or dark-blue, and white. I have, however, seen a dress for representing a devil (though possibly not in a curative ceremony) in which a portion of a dark-blue dress was of an indeterminate orange-brown. Concerning the designs embroidered upon the dresses it was said that the use of lines composed of small triangles (this was in the Colombo district; near Galle, these seem to be replaced by borders of interwoven sinuous lines) in designs and borders is required, but that the flowers and other objects represented (such as cobras, which often appear in conventionalized form) vary according to the personal tastes of the dancers. The dresses and masks employed, which vary in form more or less with the district, are of qualities commensurate with the circumstances of their owners; for example, the costumes shown on Plate XIV, Figs. 1, 2, and 3, are of very good quality, whereas the masks shown on Plate XI, Figs. *k* to *q* inclusive, are very crude, and the dresses which accompanied them were of poor quality. The masks, which are quite often made by the dancers themselves are, for the kind of dancing illustrated, usually about eight or nine in number, and are not used for the representation of all devils; as may be seen in the photographs some of the representations use merely false sets of teeth, or goggles, or paint upon the face. The objects used in dancing are often lent by one dancer to another; when requests to see a dancer's

complete outfit were complied with it was frequently necessary for some of the pieces to be collected from friends to whom they had been lent.

The number and pay of the devil-dancers employed depend upon the wealth of the patient, and the seriousness of his illness. Should a cure not be obtained through the agency of the ceremony the dancers are, as a general rule, not paid. During the dancing the operator recites *yak-kavi* (devil's-verses), wherein, by giving the name, the parentage, the birth, the history, the attributes, etc., of the afflicting devil, he shows that devil that he, knowing all these matters, is the more powerful, and needs to be obeyed in his requests and appeals.

Outfits.—The following objects, forming Sets I, II and III, are from three charmers of a village near Galle. Sets I and II are the complete outfits, as owned by the performers (and with the small exceptions noted, as obtained). Set III comprises only a small part of the material required, and is, presumably, to be eked out by masks and costumes lent by other charmers. The owners of Sets I and III appeared to be of ordinary Sinhalese type ; the owner of Set II, a carpenter by trade, was of a rather low type, with a large, projecting jaw. The masks are all of wood ; those of Set II were made, the owner said, by himself. Explanations are as given by the owners.

Set I.

(*a*) A drum to be beaten by an assistant while the dancing proceeds. (Plate XIV, Fig. 5, shows a similar drum in use, near Colombo.)

(*b*) A pair of leg-pieces, for tying upon the lower leg (shown in several of the Figs. on Plates XIII and XIV), of leather, each with nine metallic bells. This pair was the only one which could be obtained from the dancers visited, in either the Galle or Colombo districts, except at an exorbitant price. It appears that a dancer, who must continue his exertions often for a long time, becomes accustomed to a set of bells, and finds it difficult to dance with a different set. One leg-piece is shown on Plate XI, Fig. *b*.

(*c*) A jacket covered with bits of blue cloth attached only at their ends, giving to it a shaggy appearance. Generally worn with the opening at the back. (A similar jacket is shown in use in several of the photographs on Plate XIII).

(*d*) A pair of trousers, of material like that of (*c*).

(*e*) A cap, of material like that of (*c*).

(*f*) A cap, similar to (*e*), but smaller.

(*g*) An embroidered red jacket (no skirt with it).

(*h*) A blue canvas jacket (no skirt with it).

(*i*) A cap covered with bunches of red thread, giving the appearance of a great head of shaggy red hair.

(*j*) A red tarboosh (cap in the form of a truncated cone, worn by Mohammedans of the Nearer East), to be used in the dress for Demala-Sanniya (devil in the form of a Tamil).

(*k*) A black mask (Plate XI, Fig. *k*); Demala-Sanniya.

(*l*) A black mask (Plate XI, Fig. *l*); Amukku-Sanniya.

(*m*) A black mask (Plate XI, Fig. *m*); Nâga-Sanniya (the coconut-fibre forming the beard is to be worn round the neck).

(*n*) A black mask (Plate XI, Fig. *n*); Golu-Sanniya (the lower jaw seems to be missing).

(*o*) A black mask (Plate XI, Fig. *o*); Veḍi-Sanniya.

(*p*) A black mask (Plate XI, Fig. *p*); Kora-Sanniya, a devil for representing a person afflicted by a malady causing lameness.

(*q*) A dark-green mask, with great red lips (Plate XI, Fig. *q*); Copala-Sanniya (perhaps Gopaḷu-Sanniya, the devil who afflicts cattle (?)).

(*r*) A large false mouth, with teeth formed of cowry-shells (Plate XI, Fig. *r*).

(*s*) Upper or lower sets of teeth, formed of shells (one cowry-shells, two clam-shells) sewn upon cloth, for inserting in the mouth.

(*t*) Upper and lower sets of teeth, formed of cowry-shells.

(*u*) A pair of goggles, with green glasses, to give the effect of large green eyes (a similar pair is shown in use in the picture of Daha-aṭa-Pillépali (Plate XIV, Fig. 1). (Not obtained.)

(*v*) A musical pipe (Plate XI, Fig. *v*) used in certain dances.

(*w*) A snake (cobra) to be used with the Nâga-Sanniya costume. (Plate XI, Fig. *w*.)

(*x*) A small wooden doll, painted pink, in the form of an infant (Plate XI, Fig. *x*). Said to be used in a dancing ceremony to ease the pains of labour (see note to "Curative Ceremonies (Barrenness)"). There is a small nail in the top of the head, apparently for attaching a cord for suspension.

(*y*) A canvas bag, of ordinary form, for containing the objects and carrying them about.

Set II.—

(*a*) A pair of leg-pieces, similar to those of Set I. (Not obtained.)

(*b*) A jacket, like (I, *c*).

(*c*) A cap, like (I, *e*).

(*d*) A pair of trousers, such as are worn by Europeans, blue, for wearing with (*b*) and (*c*). Very dilapidated. (Not obtained.)

(*e*) A cap to which many bits of yellowish rope are attached, for giving the appearance of a head of unkempt long hair. To be used as part of the costume for Maru-Sanniya.

(*f*) A cap of thin red cloth, probably corresponding to (I, *j*).

(*g*) A costume of blue cloth, with embroidery and applied red and white decoration. A jacket, a long underskirt, and a short overskirt (similar to costume, from Colombo district, shown on Plate XIV, Fig. 6).

(*h*) A crown, made of paper, painted with devils' faces and partly covered with sheets of mica, and with wings at the sides. Similar to III (*d*), shown on Plate XII, Fig. 5; and to the one shown in use in Figs. 1 and 3 of Plate XIV.

(*i*) A black mask, with projecting eyes, a low forehead, tusks, and a protruding tongue; Maru-Sanniya.

(*j*) A black mask, with a snake rising from the forehead; Nâga-Sanniya.

(*k*) A black mask (Plate XII, Fig. 1), with lower part of face projecting, with a small beard (not seen in photo), and upper teeth of shell; Kana-Sanniya.

(*l*) A black mask, with hair and beard of fur; Golu-Sanniya.

(*m*) A black mask, low-browed, with high cheek-bones, and upper and lower teeth (of wood) showing; Veḍi-Sanniya.

(*n*) A black mask (Plate XII, Fig. 3), with beard made of wool; Gulma-Sanniya. When this mask is used the mouth is filled with water, and noises are make in the throat, after which the water is suddenly spat out, as if vomited up.

(*o*) A black mask (Plate XII, Fig. 2); Dêva-Sanniya.

(*p*) A black mask, with the mouth twisted to one side; Kora-Sanniya. (See I, *p*). (Possibly, properly, Amukku-Sanniya.)

(*q*) A false mouth, with teeth of shell, and beard, arranged to give a twisted appearance to the face when worn (Plate XII, Fig. 4).

(*r*) A set of upper, and a set of lower teeth, to be inserted in the mouth, producing thus a horrible tusked appearance; one set, with a pair of small boar's tusks (or large rodent's teeth), to go under the upper lip; the other, with pieces of shell representing teeth, to go under the lower lip. When Maru-Sanniya is represented (and the mask No. (*i*) is not employed) the face is painted with soot (taken from the bottom of a cooking pot), the two sets of teeth are put into the mouth, and a beard of fibre rope and a moustache of bear's hair are put into place; the cap No. (*e*) is also worn. Fearful noises are made with the mouth, the inserted sets of teeth aiding in their production.

(*s*) A musical pipe, like I (*v*).

(*t*) A snake, like I (*w*).

(*u*) A cotton cloth bag, for containing the objects and carrying them about.

Set III.—

(*a*) An embroidered red jacket (Plate XII, Fig. 6).

(*b*) A cap of woolly substance.

(*c*) A wig of black hair.

(*d*) A crown (Plate XII, Fig. 5), made of paper, painted with devils' faces and partly covered with mica, and having several small circular mirrors attached. (See notes to II, *h*.)

Representations of devils.—The following list relates to a series of photographs

of representations of devils given by a devil-dancer (who was, by profession, also an astrologer) at a village near Colombo; the titles and their explanations are as given by the performer and verified by another charmer who was present. The intention was that eighteen devils should be shown, but one (3), by mistake, was represented twice, although by the use of different materials, so that one representation is lacking.[1] The photographs which are reproduced on Plates XIII and XIV show the principal features of the costumes. The changing about of the parts of the costumes, and the variation of the features with paint (soot, and white powder), false features or masks, are more considerable than the photographs indicate. The costumes and masks used were of the same nature as those described as included in the outfits from Galle; the costumes worn in Figs. 1, 2 and 3, Plate XIV, are, however, of better material and workmanship than the corresponding ones from Galle, and are ornamented partly with large glass beads. The leaves, which have so large a share in a number of the costumes, are those of the *hurulla* (or *gurulla*) tree. A very fair idea of the normal appearance of the performer may be obtained from Fig. 1, Plate XIII, in which he has prepared himself to represent a Tamil. As lack of time prevented him from assuming the two costumes illustrated in Figs. 1, 2 and 3, Plate XIV, two assistants of his are shown in them. The names of the devils are in many cases descriptive; thus, *Weḍda* is a Veddah, *Gini* is heat, *Śítala* is cold, etc.

(1) Demala-Sanniya; a head, or principal Tamil devil, who orders the inferior Tamil devil afflicting the patient and causing him to speak unknown words, to relieve him. Plate XIII, Fig. 1.

(2) Maru-Sanniya; a devil who comes near to dying men. Plate XIII, Fig. 2.

(3) Amukku-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person ill with a malady which twists the features (or, as shown in the second representation of this, which twists the body). Plate XIII, Fig. 6.

(4) Nâga-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person with a malady which causes him to dream of all kinds of serpents upon his body. Plate XIII, Fig. 3. (The cobra shown dangling in front is like No. *w*, Set I; Plate XI, Fig. *w*, and No. *t*, Set II.)

(5) Kana-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person afflicted with a malady which causes blindness in sickness. Plate XIII, Fig. 4.

(6) Golu-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person afflicted with a malady which causes dumbness in sickness.

(7) Veḍi-Sanniya; a devil who afflicts with a sickness which kills as quickly as a gun is fired, *i.e.*, instantaneously. Note the gun in Plate XIII, Fig. 7.

(8) Weḍda-Sanniya; a devil in the form of a Veddah (an aboriginal of Ceylon) who afflicts with a sickness which kills as quickly as an

[1] I think that the missing representation is probably that of Kora-Sanniya, a devil for representing a person who is lame: compare Sets I and II, Nos. (*p*). For list of eighteen devils causing effects of these kinds, see *Dem. Cey.*, p. 26.

arrow reaches its mark; *i.e.*, not quite instantaneously. Note the false bow and arrow in Plate XIII, Fig. 8.

(9) Vevuḷun-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person afflicted with a malady causing trembling of the body. (The performer, in posing for this photograph, wished to keep his person continually trembling, in the manner proper to the costume, saying that if he were to remain motionless, as required for the exposure, the representation would not be complete.)

(10) Ṣítala-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person afflicted with a malady causing him to be cold.

(11) Gini-Sanniya; a devil for representing a person afflicted with a malady causing him to burn with terrible heat. Note the small fire in Plate XIII, Fig. 10.

(12) Bíta-Sanniya (Grünwedel's Abûta-S. ?); a devil for representing a person, afflicted with melancholia, who does not care to go about, but likes to lie upon a mat (shown in Plate XIII, Fig. 5) during the whole day. During the performance charmed rice is spat out, and a charmed pot is dashed upon the ground and broken, in order that, when the dancer has brought the devil's "sight" from the patient to himself, its influence may be broken.

(13) Okkara-Sanniya (a name of Gulma-S. ?; compare No. *n*, Set II); a devil for representing a person afflicted with a malady causing vomiting. Plate XIII, Fig. 9.

(14) Dêva-Sanniya; a devil who destroys any village on which he "takes sight," by causing its people to sicken, one after another. Note goggles on the eyes. Plate XIII, Fig. 11.

(15) Kôla-Sanniya; a head, or principal devil of those causing madness; upon seeing this devil the afflicting, and minor, devil removes his "sight" from the patient.

(16) Kumára-Pillépali; a head, or principal devil of the eighteen devils who cause sickness; before afflicting *women* with sicknesses the lesser devils must obtain his permission. Plate XIV, Fig. 2, back-view in Fig. 3. The dress is red with white ornamentation, and the head-kerchief of three colours—red, white and black—only. The decorations of the costume are made of fresh young leaves of the coconut-palm. One of the torches held is shown on Plate XII, Fig. 8.

(17) Daha-aṭa-Pillépali; a head, or principal devil of the eighteen devils who cause sickness; before afflicting *men* with sicknesses the lesser devils must obtain his permission. Plate XIV, Fig. 1, back-view in Fig. 3. The dress is black, and the crown is of paper painted with devils and covered with mica (see Plate XII, Fig. 5, for similar crown; compare also Sets II and III.)

Punishing Devils.

There are demons of a minor variety (described to me as being a kind of evil ghost; probably identical with the spirits of those who have died with a feeling of hatred (*Dem. Cey.*, p. 19)) who may "possess" a person, or otherwise cause him great trouble and misfortune. A person afflicted by a demon of this kind applies to a charmer, who may proceed to imprison the offending spirit, with the double object of ridding the victim of his immediate attentions and of frightening him so that he will never return after his punishment is completed. A time-limit for the imprisonment is always set, and named in the ceremony—seven hours, seven days, seven weeks, seven months, or, at the utmost, seven years—at the expiration of which the charm ceases to act and the demon becomes free. A charmer who fails to set a limit of this kind commits a great sin, since he punishes the unfortunate demon too severely, and is very likely thus to bring misfortune upon himself. For this reason, even if his employer does not wish him to do so, a charmer always sets a time-limit, seldom one of the shorter periods, or the longest, most often seven months. Three methods of imprisoning demons are given below.[1]

By nailing.—Having charmed an *iron* nail, and also the tree to which the demon is to be affixed—for one kind of demon a jak-tree is taken, for another a *ruk-attana*-tree (*Alstonia*, or *Echites, scholaris*)—the operator charms the demon himself so that he stands against the tree, a change in the colour of the bark indicating his position, and then drives in the nail. The tree is not injured by the operation.

By tying.—Seven white threads, each about 2 to 3 feet long, are prepared, and in them a loop is made which is set behind a betel-leaf resting upon a suitably "decorated" chair (table of offerings). The operator proceeds with the charming until, at a certain point, the betel-leaf falls forward, pushed by the demon's hands, when the ends of the threads are at once pulled, closing the loop tightly round the demon's wrists. The threads, holding the imprisoned demon, are then taken to a tree having two limbs separated by a distance equal to about the height of a man, and, with an accompaniment of charming, are tied to the upper limb. The demon, unless set free before, remains fastened in place, with the lower limb to rest himself upon, until the expiration of the sentence. If by chance some other charmer, or even an ordinary person acquainted with the proper mantras, sees the knotted string upon the tree, he may set the demon free by untying the knots, since he thereby acquires merit. But should the demon be freed by a person ignorant of the charms proper to the occasion, he will apply his evil attentions to his rescuer.

[1] In *Dem. Cey.*, p. 102, reference is made to a method whereby a possessing demon is "bound and nailed" to a tree. A nail made of an alloy of five metals is charmed and driven into a tree, after which a saffron-stained thread, similarly charmed, and knotted, is coiled round the nail.

In *Eth. N. in S. India*, p. 313, is given a method in which the demon is caused to climb a tree, into which three iron nails, below which the demon cannot descend, are driven. Compare also (*ibid.*) pp. 329 and 331.

By throwing into the sea.—A box, made either of an alloy of the five metals or of bell-metal (an alloy considered especially suitable for some kinds of charming), has placed within it a mixture of a considerable number of substances, ground together with a little *ghee*, and one end, coiled, of a saffron-stained thread, and, with its cover open a little way, is charmed upon a "decorated chair." As the charming proceeds, the thread gradually coils itself within the box, until it is entirely within. At the moment the end of the thread disappears the lid is snapped down, imprisoning the demon within the box, where he may sometimes be heard making a scratching sound. Then, in a boat, the box is taken out to sea, and, the boat having been stopped and certain mantras recited, is dropped overboard.

Curative Practices.

Under this heading are grouped, mostly under the troubles for whose relief they are applied, methods of curing by means of ceremonies, either magical or more or less religious in nature; of performances to which no occult character is attached; of medicines, applied either internally or externally; and of amulets, whose virtues may be either intrinsic or acquired. Amongst the principles utilized will be found those of the transference of the trouble to some inanimate object, the decrease of the trouble in sympathy with something decreased by the operator, the cutting of the trouble in sympathy with something cut by the operator, the transference of curative magical virtues to a patient by means of fumigation or by the passing of objects over his body, the use of charmed water (or the "milk" of coconuts) for sprinkling or for drinking, the fixation of charms by the tying of knots, and many others. Other matter relating to the subject may be found under the following headings:—"Protection of infants," "Protection of cattle," "Use of garlic in magic," "Use of iron in magic," "Impurity (Psychical uncleanness)," "Devil-dancing," "Punishing devils," "Votive offerings," and (in various divisions) "Amulets."

Charmed medicines.—Charmed medicines, which are used very extensively by the Sinhalese for curing people or animals, may be taken internally, applied externally, or carried as amulets. They include natural substances, special compounds, and ordinary medicines (such as are prescribed by physicians) to which an additional efficacy has been imparted by charming. The recipes given for the preparation of the special compounds often give the mantras to be used for charming them, as well as the ingredients and the proportions in which these are to be combined.

Charmed medicines are also largely used for protective and for magical purposes, references to a number of which may be found under the headings of various maladies, and of "Amulets (Medicinal substances)," "Charms to secure favour," "Amusing and trick charms," and "Change of appearance and invisibility."

For method of protecting medicines while being made see "Amulets (Miscellaneous notes)."

Curing by charmed threads.—A "decorated chair" having been prepared, three

threads (or in some cases only one) yellowed with saffron are hung upon its back, and charmed by means of a ceremony of the usual kind. When the ceremony is finished the operator takes the threads at one end, and, reciting a certain mantra over them, withdraws them from the chair. Taking them to the patient, he lays them upon the patient's head and recites a mantra over them. He then ties one thread round the patient's neck, letting the two others rest upon the patient's shoulder, a second upon the arm, holding the third meanwhile in front of the patient's body, and the last round the waist, in each instance accompanying the tying by the recitation of a mantra. (When one thread only is used the latter parts of the operation are, of course, omitted.) The patient should keep from impurity during the seven days following the ceremony.

Another kind of charmed thread is called *epa-núlá* ("bail-thread"), being for the purpose of "bailing-out" the patient from the devil who afflicts him. The thread, which is coloured with saffron, is knotted seven times, a separate mantra being recited seven times for each knot, and the knot being drawn a little closer at each repetition, until at the seventh it is pulled quite tight. A vow is made, in addition to the performance of the charming ceremony, to the afflicting devil that when the sickness has been removed a further ceremony, at which the thread will be broken, will be executed. After the thread has been removed at the second ceremony, it is thrown by the patient into running water, or is burned in the flame of a magical torch, the idea underlying its disposal thus being (according to a charmer) somewhat to the effect that as things are washed away by water, or burned away by fire, so has the affliction been removed.

The virtues are imparted to another variety of curative threads by means of the blessings of a priest.

On Plate XV (A), Fig. 1, a curative thread with twenty-four knots, from a man's wrist, is shown. See also "Bleeding."

Curing by invocation of deities.—A picture of the deities of the nine planets is mounted upon a frame of strips of bamboo, being held in place, by strips of the white inner bark of a plantain tree, along the lines separating the deities one from the other. This is brought into the patient's presence and is placed facing him, but hidden from him by a white cloth held up in front of it. Dancing and the recital of verses are then proceeded with until, at a certain point, the picture is exposed to the patient's view, and it remains so until the conclusion of the ceremony.

For the relief of a community attacked by an epidemic there is a ceremony, performed by a *kapuwá*, in a temporary building (or "shed") erected especially for the purpose. A picture of the deity Kandaswámi is put up within the shed upon the rear wall, and the villagers, including all the patients who are able to come, salute this picture upon entering the shed. The *kapuwá* dances in a decorated space before the shed, and during his performance, having summoned the malignant devils who caused the epidemic, tells them of Kandaswámi's power (which, including the ability to send these disease devils away from their victims, will be

exerted if necessary as a return for the pleasure given by the attentions paid). The malignant devils, seeing Kandaswámi's picture before them, become terrified, and remove their "sight" from the afflicted community. With money, which has been collected before the ceremony, rice and vegetables (excepting a few kinds) have been purchased, and during the ceremony this food, without the addition of any flesh (even that of fish), is cooked, but cooked entirely by men. The cooked food is distributed at the conclusion of the ceremony, a part being eaten by the persons present, and the remainder being carried very reverently, and so carefully as not to lose the least particle of it, to be eaten by those villagers who were unable to come.

Betel leaves are brought before the ceremony, by persons wishing to know something of their future, as a present to the *kapuwá*. At a certain point in the ceremony the *kapuwá* stands upon burning coals, trembling, and speaks, in a language not understood by those present, to the deity. He then tells an attendant to bring to him the various persons whom he names, and who have given him the betel leaves, and then, as each is brought to him, he predicts as to that person's health, business, profession, fortune, etc., and advises as to what should be done to avert any ill-luck which may threaten.

See also "Devil-dancing."

Employment of votive offerings.—When a vow is made at a Buddhist or Kapuist shrine a small coin is given; after the request has been granted a votive offering is presented to the shrine. The offerings are generally of silver, and of the nature of (*a*) representations of the objects in connection with which the vows were made, (*b*) gifts to the deities, or (*c*) representations of the deities. The standard price for an ordinary silver offering appears to be 25 cents ($\frac{1}{4}$ rupee), of which one-half is supposed to be for the material and one-half for the work, although actually the value of the silver used in such an offering is often less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Gold offerings of the same type, though very thin, are, of course, more expensive. These are the offerings commonly given, but there are others given by wealthy people, wherein the spirit, rather than the mere letter (as in those quoted) of the promise made, is adhered to.

The offerings are made by special silversmiths, and must not be made by people of low caste; they should be kept from any contamination, either physical or ceremonial, before presentation. After they have been given they should not be taken away from the shrine. It appears, however, that they may be bought by persons wishing to make offerings, but only to be returned immediately. When enough of them have accumulated they are made into a gold or silver image by a silversmith connected with the temple. It is believed that a curse will fall upon persons who make other things from them, wherefore ordinary silversmiths will have nothing to do with old votive offerings.

Sometimes a coin is vowed in the event of a cure, and is wrapped in paper and tied upon the afflicted part of the patient, being retained there until the cure is considered to be complete, after which it is taken to the shrine at which the

vow has been made and is tied, in a bit of rag, to the railing in front. Should the patient die the coin is given to the poor.

Gem miners, after success in their operations, present some rough precious stones, of poor quality and of very little value, to the shrines at which they have made their vows.

The offerings shown on Plate XV (B) are all from one temple, and, unless otherwise noted, are of silver. Their forms and purposes (as explained to me) are as follows:—

(1–5), five male figures; (6), one gilt plate with male figure; (7, 8), two gold male figures; (9), one female nude figure; (10, 11), two female skirted figures: given after the successful accomplishment of any result requested.

(12, 13), two boys (indicated by small size); (14), one girl: given after a safe delivery (or, probably, when a child has been cured, etc.).

(15, 16), two eyes (large size indicates that they are men's); (17), one eye (small size indicates that it is a woman's): eye troubles cured.

(18), one tongue: tongue cured or speech restored.

(19), one throat (a short tube); (20), testicles; (21), one leg; (22, 23), two arms: cure of the parts represented.

(24), one dug-out canoe; (25), one flat-bottomed boat: promised when the boat is begun, and given when the boat is placed in the water, to cause the boat always to be protected by the deity to whom the offering has been made.

(26), one house (formed like a shed): promised when the house is commenced, and given when it is finished, to cause the house always to be protected from fires, floods, or like catastrophes.

(27), one plantain tree; (28), one coconut palm: promised when a new planting is started, and given when it commences to bear, being bought with money obtained for the first-fruits of the planting.

(29), one field (of poor quality gold, gilded): promised by a person wishing to obtain a plot of land, or disputing or about to go to law about land, and given in the event of his success.

(30), one elephant; (31, 32), two bullocks: success in a matter connected with the animal represented.

(33), one cobra: a cobra who came often to a house (and could not, because of the occupant's religious scruples, be killed) has been caused to remain away. (The extended position indicates that the snake is departing.)

(34), one spear (attribute of a deity); (35), one sacred lamp; (36), one chain (probably, in this case, the length of a child's height): there has been promised, in the event of success, a silver object of the kind represented.

(37, 38, 39), three coils of wire, each the length of a person's height: given after a result desired has been attained, in fulfilment of the promise of a gift as high as the applicant.[1]

(40–46), seven plates bearing the figure of the deity Vibhísana (who cures the sick, gives children to the childless, etc., whose shrine is tended by a *kapuwá*); (47), one gold plate bearing figure of Vibhísana: given after success in a matter in which the deity's aid was invoked.

Curing by substitution.—In one system of curing the operator, having protected himself by charming, offers himself, mentioning the various parts of his body, to the afflicting devils as their proper prey. These devils, however, when they have transferred their "sight" as suggested by the operator, find that they cannot injure him, because of the charming by which he is protected.

Effect of evil eye or envy.—The hands and the body should be washed, one morning, the evening of that day and the following morning, with the water in which a blacksmith has quenched his iron.

Some water from a "new well" (see "General Notes (Miscellaneous notes)") having been put, together with a twig of a lime-tree, which has naturally seven leaves (none having been removed) into a new pot and charmed, the patient is sprinkled with the water by means of the twig.

Seven limes (or lemons) are charmed by means of a mantra and fumigation with *dummala* powder, and are then placed with some of the wild fruits of the *ahu* tree (*Morinda citrifolia* or *Morinda tinctoria*), the sight of which being feared by devils, will keep such away from the limes. Each lime in succession is placed between the jaws of an areca-nut cutter, and is held over some part, from the crown of the head to the feet, of the patient's body, when, a certain mantra having been recited, it is cut by closing the jaws of the cutter.

Effect of sorcery.—A pumpkin, upon which is drawn the picture of a man (representing the charmer who performed the injurious ceremony), is charmed, upon a "decorated chair," by the performance of dancing and the singing of charming verses, interspersed with blessing verses at intervals, during an entire night. In the early morning the operator, accompanied by three assistants, goes to a stream or a body of water, the charmed pumpkin, covered by a white cloth held by two men walking respectively before and behind it, being carried on the head of the third assistant. The operator, upon arrival, recites a mantra over the water in order to protect Mani-mekhalá-wa (?), a water spirit, from any harm arising from the forthcoming ceremony, and then having received it from its bearer, places the pumpkin in the water with the picture uppermost. Then, taking a knife which has been suitably charmed, he strikes its point upon the stomach of the figure, whereupon the devils immediately cause the pumpkin to turn in the water, in such a manner as to be cut in two by the knife; at the moment that the division takes

[1] This explanation differs apparently from that given in *Eth. Notes in S. India*, p. 353, where the wire is said to *represent* the applicant, seemingly in like manner to a human figure.

place the operator and the pumpkin are together drawn beneath the surface, and the operator becomes insensible. When, a moment later, the operator returns to the surface, he is revived by his assistants, by the use of water, which, in anticipation of its need, has been previously charmed. If the operation has been successful the halves of the pumpkin and the water nearby will be red.

The operator next goes to the patient and dances and recites verses, accompanying his actions by the taking up in his right hand of 108 small wicks, in succession, each of which he lights from a flame in his left hand, and then extinguishes in a dish of water containing some areca-flowers. He then takes eight limes, and, holding each in succession between the jaws of an areca-nut cutter and having recited a mantra, cuts it; of these limes, seven are, when being cut, held over various parts, from the crown of the head to the feet, of the patient's body, after which the eighth one, held in the cutter, is moved up and down three times in front of the patient, in order that any part omitted by the seven may be included before it is cut. The pieces of the limes are put into the water containing the extinguished wicks. By this method not only is the patient cured, but the charmer (not his employer), who caused the injury, has his charming turned back upon himself.

Bleeding.—Bleeding should always be stopped as quickly as possible, because the least appearance of blood attracts Ríriyaka (the devil of blood), who will endeavour to make the patient ill, in order to obtain more of his blood. (See also "Injury of Enemies.")

(The following method is applied only for the cure of prolonged bleeding due to natural causes, and not for that of bleeding due to sorcery.) A string formed of a red, a black, and a white thread twisted together is charmed, hung upon the back of a "decorated chair," in some spot frequented by the devils, and is then taken to the patient. The patient having lain down on his back, the string is placed upon his head, and a certain mantra is recited. It is then pulled over the whole length of his body, being stopped in order that the mantra may be recited at each point, at the forehead, the nose (where its effect covers the openings for the eyes and ears as well), the mouth, the throat, the breast, and the navel, seven points in all. Then the string is drawn to, and stopped at, the private parts, where another mantra, one of an abusive nature, is said. Finally the string is tied about that part of the body where its effect will be greatest: for bleeding from any of the openings of the face, round the neck; for bleeding from the lungs, round the arms; for prolonged menses, round the waist, the patient having first drank of charmed water, or of the liquid of a charmed coconut.

Children's Sicknesses.—(The following method is applied for the cure of sick children between the ages of three days and seven years.) An image made of boiled rice, with the features marked in colours, is placed in a basket of the kind used for cleaning rice, and is brought, hidden behind a cloth held up as a curtain by a couple of men, into the presence of the sick child. Verses, requesting the deities' permission to go on, having been recited, the cloth is removed and the

operator proceeds to dance, holding a bell in one hand and an areca-flower in the other, meanwhile reciting devil-dancing verses interspersed (at intervals separated by 108 verses) with mantras. At the conclusion of this dancing he takes a handkerchief of three colours (red, black and white, presumably), and, after dancing with it, rubs it three times lightly over the child, as though rubbing the disease away, and causes the child to push its hands outward, over its face, three times, as though clearing the disease away, after which the handkerchief is thrown upon the rice image. Finally some one (such as a servant) takes the basket with the image in it to a cross-roads (silence, not looking behind, etc., are not essential in this part of this ceremony), where they are left. After a time (usually between half an hour and one hour) the evil influences transferred to the image depart from it, and the birds, which until then have kept aloof, come and eat the rice. The handkerchief, when the work in which it figures is finished, is taken by the operator to be kept for similar use on future occasions.

Dogbite.—The patient is treated in the following manner in order that he may not develop hydrophobia. He is taken to an empty house, and is supplied entirely with perfectly new things—clothes, pillows, sheets, eating-, drinking- and cooking-vessels, etc.—which are kept exclusively for his own use during his treatment, and he is never left unaccompanied by some other person, even for a moment. A charmed thread is put round his neck, another upon his arm, and a third round his waist, and he is sprinkled, each morning and evening, with saffron-coloured water, which is also thrown about the house. At an early hour of the morning of the third day he is taken to a stream nearby (provided that it is not frequented much by women; should it be, a "new well" is dug), and he is bathed with exactly seven potsful of water from it charmed in a new pot. He is then brought back to his house, where he is kept during four days more (making a total of seven days of treatment), after which he is free to do as he pleases, excepting that during the period of three months following he should not eat pork, and should preferably remain otherwise uncontaminated by impurity.

Snakebite.—There are stones for the cure of snakebite, black, and of considerable value, which, when placed upon the wound, adhere to it until all the poison has been withdrawn, after which they fall off. In order to remove the poison from the stones, these latter are put into cow's milk for a time after being used. (A stone of this kind, appearing, from the description, to be of the ordinary Indian type, was kept by the high-priest of the temple at my informant's village, and was lent to people who required its services.)

There are also charmed medicines, artificially formed, the action of which in withdrawing the poison is like that of the natural stones.

Snakebite may be cured by the use of charmed threads, by exposing the patient to the smoke of charmed substances, or by the recitation of mantras.

It is sometimes necessary to give instant treatment for snakebite while still at a distance from the patient, as when word has been brought to a charmer who cannot reach the patient quickly. When such is the case the operator charms, by means

of a certain mantra, his right hand, and then lightly strikes the messenger's head or face with it.

Ratbite.—A piece of gold, having been charmed, is rubbed in woman's milk and drank.

Choking by bones or food.—The patient, or someone by him, recites a certain mantra over some food, such as cooked rice, or a fried plantain, which is then swallowed. Or the same mantra may be recited over some water, which is then drank.

The same mantra may be recited over the palm of the hand, which is then used to pat the patient's back.

A mantra (not specified, presumably the same as above) is recited, either by himself or by someone by him, over a hair of the patient's head, which hair is then pulled out.

Drunkenness.—Seven small stones (pebbles), having been charmed on seven different days, are dropped into some arrack, which, given afterwards to the patient to drink, causes him thereafter to have a distaste for arrack.

A charmed leech is allowed to swim about for a time (not too long, lest the liquor become poisoned) in some arrack, which, afterwards given to the patient to drink, gives him a distaste for arrack.

Barrenness.—The woman is dressed in white, and dances are performed and verses recited before her. A new earthen pot containing some coconut leaves and a little earth, and decorated with young coconut leaves, of some of which a handle is formed, is kept near to her during the ceremony, and is hung up in the house when the ceremony is completed. At the time of the ceremony a vow is made to the devil *Kaḷuyaka*[1] that if a child be born, dances, offerings, etc., will be given to him. Soon after a child has been born, as a result of the ceremony, it is taken to a *kapuwá* at a temple, who blesses the child, and is told by the mother that the child is the result of a vow which, within a time which she specifies, she will fulfil. The *kapuwá* then makes himself responsible, to the benevolent devil by whom the child has been given, for the child until the vow is fulfilled. Usually the *kapuwá* refuses to assume responsibility for the child for more than a few months, but, except for this, it appears that any period, even one of years, may be allowed for the accumulation of money sufficient to pay for the offerings and dances required. The children born as a result of this ceremony are always fine healthy infants. Should it happen that, for some reason, the vow is not fulfilled, both mother and child will die, and other misfortunes will follow.

[1] It was explained to me that children are given by *Kaḷuyaka* ("Black Devil"), and in the ceremony following this one the idea appears again. In *Dem. Cey.*, p. 28, he is spoken of as exerting his malign influences particularly upon women and children; he has, however (p. 27), an apparitional form, called the "Black Demon of the Dewol Gods," which, from the nature of these ceremonies, is that, I imagine, in which he here appears. The explanation given did not seem to suggest that *Kaḷuyaka* appeared as a conquered and subservient devil.

The woman, clothed in white, stands within a compound decorated for the occasion. A devil dancer dressed in woman's clothing, and having breasts formed by stuffing out the bosom of the jacket (see Plate XIV, Fig. 8) bears in his arms a wooden doll (Plate XII, Fig. 7; see also No. *x* of Set I[1] of the devil dancers' outfits) representing a child, which he rocks to and fro as if to hush its crying. After dancing, this man goes about, from one to another of those present, collecting money (explained to me as similar to money paid to a physician) from them. When the collection has been completed, a second man, dressed to represent *Kaḷuyaka*, who has meanwhile remained hidden from those present, suddenly gives a shout, rushes out with a second shout, and then, taking the doll from the performer who has been dancing with it, and shoving him forcibly away, gives a third shout. Then, with great courtesy, and showing much respect towards her, *Kaḷuyaka* presents the child to the patient, who bends her head in thanks. The doll is taken by the patient round all the company present, by whom it is kissed and fondled just as if it were a real child, and it is finally taken home by the patient, to be kept in a cradle till she conceives. When conception is assured, the doll, accompanied by many presents, is returned to its owner.

The basis of the following medicine is an eastward-growing root of the *Natnáran*-tree (Common citron, *Citrus medica*), ground with the milk of a pure-black cow. Before the root is removed from the ground a ceremony is performed over it. A space having been cleared and cleaned all around the tree, some fresh saffron-coloured water, drawn in a new pot, is sprinkled about it by means of an areca flower, and a kind of fence, formed of small bamboo sticks and young coconut-leaves, is set up round it. Oil made entirely by a man (not by a woman) from a coconut which, to ensure its cleanliness, has been brought (not fallen, nor been thrown) down from its tree, is put into two lamps formed of the halves of a papaya fruit or of a young coconut, with wicks of clean-washed cloth twisted by hand (not rolled, as is usual, upon the thigh), which are set beneath the tree. Beneath the tree there are also placed some sweet-scented flowers upon a plantain-leaf, some bits of camphor upon betel-leaves, some scented water, etc. At morning and evening of three days the lamps are lighted, incense-powder (the savour of the smoke of which is liked by the benevolent devils and hated by the evil) is burned, and ceremonies, including the recital of verses resembling mantras, are performed. When the charming of the root selected is completed it is removed, early in the morning, and taken to a house. It is then ground, with the milk of a fine pure-black cow, upon a clean stone which, together with the place where it rests, has been sprinkled with saffron-water for purification. The substance is charmed, before being removed from the grinding stones, upon the completion of the grinding, and then that upon the upper stone (the grinder) is mixed with some

[1] This second doll, from Galle, was said to be used in a dancing ceremony to ease the pains of childbirth, details of which were not obtained. My interpreter on this occasion had only the ordinary man's knowledge of ceremonies, and, though interpreting in good faith, may have been misinformed, or have misunderstood.

of the black cow's milk, and is drank by the husband, while that upon the lower stone (the table, or mortar), similarly mixed, is drank by the wife. Upon the day of taking the medicine the husband and wife should, preferably, take no other food save, if necessary, a little milk. Before taking the medicine both should bathe and should dress themselves in clean clothing. Intercourse may take place at any convenient time thereafter, but conception is assured within three months of the taking of the medicine, and the birth of a child within one year. The medicine is effective only in the cases of people within the ages commonly suitable for the production of children, and is valueless for people who are beyond those ages.

Control of sex of child.—If a *female* child be desired the wife should, until conception takes place, sleep at her husband's *left* side. When intercourse is about to take place the husband should descend from his side of the bed, and, going round the *foot* of the bed, he should approach from his wife's *left* side. After intercourse he should descend upon the same side, and return to his place by the way he came. Furthermore, the wife should, until she conceives, bathe only on the *odd* days after her menses—the first day, the third, the fifth, etc. In addition, a yantra, in which there is a figure of a girl, may be kept over the bed.

If a *male* child be desired the wife should sleep at her husband's *right* side, and he should pass round the *head* of the bed to her *right* side, afterwards returning to his place by the same route. The wife should bathe, also, only on the *even*—the second, fourth, sixth, etc.—days after her menses.

Lack of milk in nursing.—If due to the action of an evil eye or of devils, and not to natural causes, a lime-tree twig having naturally seven leaves (none having been removed) is taken, and the leaves are picked off one by one, a mantra being recited before the plucking of each leaf. As each leaf is removed it is placed in a dish of water, into which, finally, the empty stem is put.

For the same purpose seven charmed limes may be cut, the cutting being accompanied by the recitation of mantras, over various parts of the patient's body, in the manner described for the curing of the "Effect of evil eye." One of the vertebræ of the large sea-fish *koppará* is worn, tied at the waist; or the flesh of the same fish is eaten.

See also "Use of garlic in magic," and "Protection of infants."

Pregnancy.—There are mantras for charming, preferably each day, the first food or drink taken in the morning during pregnancy, in order to protect the patient from the effects of the devils' actions; the charming is stopped when the child is born.

Parturition.—The water of a charmed coconut is drunk to relieve the pains of parturition. Unicorn's horn, ground into water and drunk, hastens delayed parturition. See also "Devil-Dancing," No. *x* in Set I. For protection after parturition see "Use of iron in magic."

Insanity, Possession, Epilepsy, Insensibility.—Insanity in its milder forms is cured by the application of mantras. For the cure of possession[1] see "Punishing Devils."

[1] In *Dem. Cey.*, the whole of Chap. VI is devoted to "Demon Possession," and several different methods of curing it are given.

According to a charmer, usually well-informed, who knew much concerning the magical treatment of diseases, epilepsy (as manifested by the usual symptoms of insensibility, foaming at the mouth, etc.) is due to natural causes, and is not produced by devils nor curable by charming. Compare "Amulets (Medicinal substances)."

To cure young people who, through the action of a devil, have become insensible, there is a charmed oil to be rubbed upon the forehead.

Charmers who become insensible during their operations are revived by the application of charmed water, or by the tying of charmed knots in their hair, as noted in various connections.

Insomnia.—There are mantras for the cure of insomnia. Compare "Thieves (Charms used by, etc.)."

Warts.—A number of small stones, equal in number to the warts, are placed in a package with a ½ cent copper coin (or three such coins). The warts are rubbed in succession with the package thus formed, which is afterwards taken, early in the morning, held in the right hand behind the back, without a word being spoken, to a cross-roads, where, the bearer of it having faced homewards, it is dropped, after which the bearer returns home immediately. Whoever picks up the package will, by his actions, assume the warts. (This is a good example of a *kema, i.e.*, a minor magical operation without the use of charming; another example is the application of iron-quenching water to cure "Effect of evil eye.")

Cramp, Pains in the limbs.—As a protection against and a cure for cramp in any part of the body one or more of the vertebræ of a shark (*mórá* = "any fish of the shark tribe") are worn, attached to a string round the waist. These bones, which are sometimes charmed to increase their efficacy, also prevent and cure all trouble in the vicinity of the waist. Bones of this kind whose authenticity is established are rather difficult to get and, considering the nature of the substance, rather expensive, one reason for this being that imitations, which are hard to detect, are often sold. The specimen shown on Plate XVI, Fig. 1, was thought to be one, and, although actually a mammal's bone, and incomplete, was worn, with good results, for a considerable time.

Metallic pieces called *wánsál* (?) (shown on Plate XV (A), Fig. 2), which are made of an alloy of lead with another metal, are worn by the Natives, of various races (Sinhalese, Tamils, Moormen, and others), in Ceylon to keep away and (if worn long enough) to cure swellings and pains in the joints, and pains in the arms and legs. A few (in the specimen shown, 18) are worn on the arm or at the waist. The virtue of these objects appears, from the information I received, to reside in their substance. They are sometimes to be found in the bazars, strung in quantity on long strings from which the vendor takes the number required by the purchaser.

To cure pains in the limbs the parts affected are washed with water charmed by an elaborate ceremony, or are rubbed with charmed oil. During the ceremony of charming one variety of such oil, the oil is stirred with a piece of iron.

To cure sprains rubbing with charmed oil is resorted to.

Stomach-ache.—Stomach-ache is cured by the application of mantras.

Head-ache.—Some dried ginger having been ground with woman's milk, and charmed before removal from the grinding stone, the mixture is rubbed upon the forehead. Instead of ginger, sandalwood may be used in the same manner.

Some coconut oil which has been charmed by the recital of a certain mantra over it seven times, it being stirred meanwhile with a piece of iron, is rubbed on the forehead.

Some *wadakahá* (*Acorus calamus*; sweet flag) is ground with *ghee.* The mixture is lighted, and then, having burned for a moment, is extinguished. The smoke arising, having been charmed by the recital of a certain mantra over it, is inhaled, the inhalation being facilitated by the use of a funnel, made of a conically-rolled jak-leaf with the end of the cone torn off, the point of which is inserted into the nostril. See also "Use of garlic in magic."

Ear-ache.—Some freshly drawn water in a new pot, or in the thoroughly clean palm of the hand, is charmed by the recital of a mantra, and a few drops are put into the afflicted ear. See also "Use of garlic in magic."

Tooth-ache.—Tooth-ache is caused by worms in the teeth.

A betel leaf, over which a certain mantra has been recited, is chewed with the aching tooth.

A little chunam (lime) is rubbed on the cheek, just outside of the aching tooth, and a certain mantra is recited.

A funnel is prepared by inserting a reed tube in a hole in a half shell of a coconut, and by means of this the smoke of charmed *dummala* powder thrown upon burning coals is drawn upon the aching tooth.

Difficulty in breathing, etc.—There is a yantra to be worn as a cure for this. A piece of unicorn's horn may be similarly employed.

There is a serious malady, curable by charming, in which the devils grip the patient's throat and thus prevent him from swallowing.

Nervousness.—This is cured by the tying on of a charmed thread.

Infectious diseases.—Against infectious diseases in general small amulet cases containing charmed oil or charmed pills are worn, usually at the waist or on the arm.

Against small-pox parts of tigers (or leopards) are worn. See "Amulets (Animal products)."

Fevers are cured by the use of mantras and yantras.

Dysentery (*atisára*) is cured by a ceremony in which a tree and a lamp are presented, on behalf of the patient, to the afflicting devil. See also "Amulets (Medicinal substances)."

PROTECTIVE MAGIC.

PROTECTION FROM PERILS.

From animals.—When passing through the jungle it is especially dangerous to come upon a deaf elephant in one's path, for, although ordinary elephants will usually go away when they hear people approaching, deaf elephants (who cannot hear them) do not. In order to cause a deaf elephant to depart the traveller should repeat a certain mantra, at the same time holding the index finger of his right hand within his ear.

There are various mantras to protect the traveller through the jungle, some general, some directed especially against certain animals, and intended to be recited when such animals, leopards, for example, are met. See also "Amulets (Animal products) (Medicinal substances)."

From snakebite.—There are certain yantras, engraved usually upon copper, which protect their bearers from the attacks of serpents. A picture of the King of the Cobras, a double-headed snake, tatued upon the arm, serves the same purpose. The jewel which is possessed by certain serpents [see "Amulets (Animal products)"] protects its bearer from snakebite. So also does peacock-oil, either carried or rubbed upon the body.

A certain charmed oil, dropped into a cut in the thigh, is a similar protection; this oil changes the colour of the skin, whatever its original tint, to yellow near the incision, if it takes effect.

There is a certain mantra which may be used in connection with any charm, or in the preparation of any amulet, against serpents.

A mantra which, repeated mentally seven times just before setting out on a journey, will protect the user from snakes, gives the name of a serpent who was "King of Serpents," and the names of each of his parents, and, after stating that he lived in "the Himalaya Mountains (some distant, but apparently indefinite region) and was the grandfather of 60 million serpents," says "should any serpent come near me to-day, let him press his head against the ground in reverence." After the recital of the mantra the person pretends to spit towards his feet.

If it be desired to cause a serpent or a centipede or the like to become inert and harmless, lying as if paralyzed, a handful of sand should be taken up and thrown upon the animal, a short mantra having been recited over the hand. Or, some saliva having been charmed in the mouth, by means of the same mantra, a pretence is made of spitting upon the animal. To cause the animal to be the more firmly bound, both forms of the charm may be used. Should it be desired to cause the animal to remain without moving about during some little time, the quantity of sand charmed should be greater, and it should be scattered about where the animal lies; until the effect of the charming departs from the sand, after about half an hour, the animal cannot move without touching some of the paralyzing sand about it.

In or upon water.—To keep from such dangers as drowning, attacks by fish,

crocodiles, or water-snakes while swimming, sea-sickness, the overturning or sinking of a boat, and the like, a person should, just before entering the water or the boat, splash some water with the hand in each of three directions (in order to protect himself on both his sides, and from dangers coming from directions between), saying, at the same time, "*Namo darpa darpa swáhá (?)*" (apparently a mere meaningless formula) for each direction. If the person embark upon a large vessel, so that he is unable to reach the water, he should replace the splashing of the water in this operation by the throwing of three pebbles, one in each direction.

The figure of a fish, formed of gold or silver and charmed, representing the great fish called "*Ánanda-kurmastekur (?)*" (apparently the combined names of a fabulous tortoise), whose powers are seven times as great as those of any other animal of the seas, will protect the wearer from all dangers in or upon the water.

Ornaments having a fish as the motive are not uncommon in Ceylon, but to most of these the Sinhalese seem usually to attach no protective significance.

A yantra bearing the form of a fish, and protective against the dangers of water, is noted under "Yantra."

Against lightning.—When the deities Aruchéna and Víma fought together, and Víma attacked his opponent with lightning, the former trampled the lightning beneath his feet. For this reason Aruchéna is appealed to by people for protection during thunderstorms. (For an application of this belief see "Yantra.") See also "Use of iron in magic."

In general.—A picture of Bhadrakáli (a very powerful benevolent devil), which has been charmed seven times, put up within a house, will cause that deity to extend her protection to those persons, living in the house, who offer respect to it by bowing the head before the picture whenever about to go out and by burning a little incense powder before it morning and evening. The picture is treated only in a respectful manner—prayers are not offered before it. See also various headings under "Amulets."

Protection of Infants.

For several days after birth an infant continues to smell of blood, wherefore it is particularly attractive to the devils and peculiarly liable to their attacks. It must, therefore, be protected with special care during this period.

After a newly-born infant has been washed there is stuck upon its forehead, just above the nose, a small pellet which is allowed to remain in place during three days (as to which there is generally no difficulty, the infant usually lying quiet at this time). The pellet is formed of the ashes of some medicine mixed with a little gold rubbed from an ornament, and protects the infant from the attacks of devils, the effects of evil eyes, and the like.

Immediately after an infant has been washed after birth there is tied, upon each of its wrists, a thread upon which are strung several sections of *wodakahá* (sweet flag; apparently sections of the root). These strings are worn until the child is about three months old, and protect it from the attacks of devils, from

infantile troubles, and from stoppages of its mother's milk caused by the effect of envy (this last is as stated by an informant; in the protection of the child some effect seems to be extended to the mother, but in what way was not made clear). The number of pieces used appears to be immaterial; in a pair of wristlets taken from an infant at Colombo (see Plate XVI, Fig. 2), it happens that there are five pieces on each thread, but it was said at the time when the specimens were obtained that any other number might have been used with equal propriety.

The placenta, having been wrapped in a piece of matting, and having had *yadina* (a kind of verse) recited over it, is buried, usually close beside the parent's house. Should the *yadina* be omitted, the child may become sickly, or ill, or stunted, as a result of injury to the placenta. It was said that the placenta is sometimes used in charming ceremonies (but how, or for what purpose my informant did not know), and that, to keep it from being disinterred, and the child, despite the *yadina*, from suffering, burial near the house is practised.

Until a child has been weaned it is unclean, and should not, therefore, wear golden ornaments before weaning takes place. See also "Children's amulets," "Use of garlic in magic," "Use of iron in magic," "Curative practices (Children's sicknesses)," and "Votive offerings."

Protection of Houses.

Before a house is built four pebbles and four silver coins should be charmed, and one of each should be buried at each corner of the site of the house. Instead of ordinary pebbles uncut precious stones, of poor quality, may be used with great advantage, since such stones attract the "sight" of gods and benevolent devils; such stones may be of different kinds, or all of the same kind. Near the site of the house a post should be set up, at the middle of which two coconuts are hung, and at the base is placed a new pot containing a coconut flower and some water taken from a running stream.

When the house is completed a charmer comes, bringing, amongst his other paraphernalia, a mask of Garayaka (the devil of new houses). During the night the charmer dances; when morning comes he crosses over each doorstep of the house, and throws some *dummala* powder in each of four directions in each room. At about 10 a.m. he dances with a new pot full of water, turning the pot about so that some of the water spills from it in each of the rooms, until he reaches again the place at which he entered, where he dashes the pot against the steps and breaks it. The future residents of the house may then come in to occupy it. The people of the house may, besides having a ceremony performed by a charmer, have preaching by a number of priests, during several nights; on the last day a feast is given to the priests, which marks the conclusion of the ceremonies.

To protect a house from white ants a new pot is filled with water from a "new well," and is charmed. Then, whilst a mantra is recited, some of the charmed water is thrown over the wood of the house, and the pot, with some of the

charmed water still in it, is hung up in the house. See also "Yantra," "Use of iron in magic," and "Votive offerings." For protection against thieves see "Thieves (Charms used by, etc.)."

Protection of Crops.[1]

In order to protect the crops in a field charmed water is thrown about it, on three days in succession, by means of an areca-flower.

A person covers his head and body with a white cloth, and, walking in the early morning along the paths around and through the field to be protected, without speaking a word, scatters, where they will not be trampled upon by people, the ashes of five kinds of *pas peṇgiri* woods. While the ashes remain, and are not trampled upon, the crops will not be attacked by noxious animals or insects.

A charmed image of a man made of sticks, straw, etc., is set up in the field.

A living land-tortoise is broken into pieces, which are then scattered about the field; the crops in the field are thus protected by land-tortoises from damage, which, in the case of some crops, may otherwise be serious.

To protect a coconut-plantation from attacks by rats, one of the trees is dedicated to Húniyan Dewatawa (a very great devil whose proximity at night may be known by the light which he gives off). Two nuts are taken from the tree to be dedicated, after which no more are taken during the period for which the tree is dedicated. From these two nuts oil is made, which is burned, during the dedicatory ceremony, each evening of seven days, upon a small altar built of young coconut-leaves against the tree to be dedicated, upon which there are also placed, as offerings, some flowers, including areca-flowers, some small coins, some bits of camphor, etc. During the ceremony *yadina* (a kind of verses) are recited.

Protection of Cattle.

Cattle, which are very largely used as draught animals, and are consequently exposed to many evil influences, are almost always protected by magical means. Their hides are branded with various protective designs (as shown on Plate XIV, Fig. 9, and noted under "'5' in . . . magic") for the prevention or cure of the ailments to which cattle are subject (those illustrated were said to have been executed as a cure for boils and thinness caused by the effect of an evil eye), and they wear various amulets, of which hair-ropes, chank-shells, and pieces of iron are the most usual.

The hair-ropes, occasionally brown, but generally black, are commonly said to be (and apparently actually are) of human hair (sometimes, it was said, with elephant's hair), and, although their virtues are intrinsic (for what particular reason I could not ascertain), are often charmed in order to add to their efficacy. They

[1] Much on the protection of rice-crops is to be found in "Customs and Superstitions Connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon," by C. J. R. Le Mesurier, in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1885, pp. 366 *et seq.*

are worn wound one or more times round the bullock's neck, or stretched across the top of his head, held by the horns, or round the leg just above the hoof.[1] Upon the hair-rope a chank-shell [see "Amulets (Animal products)"] is often threaded (Plate XIV, Fig. 11), upon a steel chain (such as is shown on Plate XIV, Fig. 10), in order to secure greater protection; these chank-shells are, it was said, unlike the hair-ropes, not charmed. A piece of hair-rope is shown in Fig. 19, Plate XVI.

A third common amulet is a piece of iron, generally in the form of a flat disc pierced with a circular hole, or of a square with a square hole (Plate XVI, Fig. 3, and Plate XIV, Fig. 10). Often several of these are worn together on a chain so that a jingling noise is produced when the animal walks. Curiously, the chains worn round the neck or round the horns are, I have invariably been told, for ornament alone, and, since they are of "steel (not iron)," have no protective virtues.

Sometimes pieces of ivory, or of bone representing ivory, are worn as a protection against the evil eye: see "Amulets (Animal products)" also Plate XVI, Fig. 4.

There are charmed medicines, usually worn in a small leather bag at the neck (Plate XVI, Fig. 5, shows a bag for the purpose, containing a powder), to ward off various diseases, and charmed oils, contained in metal cases, sometimes suspended by a charmed saffron-stained cord, with the same intention.

There are mantras, which must be recited over the cattle each year, to protect the members of a herd against attacks of epidemic diseases from which cattle not thus protected suffer.

For the recovery of a lost bullock there is a special ceremony addressed to Gopaluyaka (the devil who attacks cattle), of the same nature as that described under "Protection of crops," in which the produce of a tree is vowed to him during a certain period. See also "Employment of votive offerings."

AMULETS.

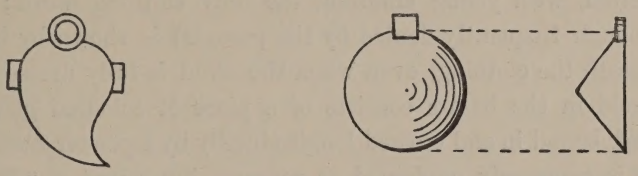
Miscellaneous Notes.—Some objects which, in other countries, are frequently used as protective amulets, but concerning the employment of which in this manner in Ceylon no information could be obtained, include bells, horns (used as a whole, as materials, or, in representations, as symbols), coins, and naturally-perforated stones. These last do not, apparently occur at all in the vicinity of Colombo, for various persons there who were questioned concerning them had never heard of such things.

When medicines, particularly charmed medicines, are being prepared, the devils who cause disease sometimes attempt to upset the pot, or do other damage. In order to protect the medicines from them a bit of iron, such as a nail, should be tied upon the pot, and an × (not a Christian Cross [+], my informant stated) marked with chunam (lime) upon the pot's side.

[1] These ropes are much used as amulets in Southern India, and also for the bullocks driven by natives of Southern India in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and elsewhere.

Various amulets and amuletic substances have been noted under "Protection" (various headings), "Use of iron in magic," "Astrology," and "Charms to Secure Favour."

Children's amulets.—Black glass bangles (Plate XVI, Fig. 6) are commonly worn, several together, by young children. They are called *kaḍa-walalla* (equivalent to "breaking-bangles"), and are placed upon the child when it is weaned, being worn until the child is seven years old. These bangles, which are imported from India, are very much used by the Sinhalese, and considerably, apparently, by the other races in Ceylon. It is believed that, should one of the bangles be *accidentally* broken while worn, the child will be cleared of any effects of an envious eye or the like to which it has been exposed, and that it will be protected from evils of the kind in the future. If, however, some effect of the sort has come upon the child before the bangles are put on, this, most probably, will not be cleared away by the accidental breaking of one of them thereafter. It was said that glass bangles of other colours, which are used to a much smaller extent than the black ones, are considered similarly protective; and also that like virtues are ascribed to bangles of chank-shell. (It should be noted that the bangles are not supposed to break by exposure to an evil influence which would otherwise affect the wearer, as is often the case with amulets, but act protectively in the manner described above. A belief similar in nature is mentioned under "Divination (by omens)." It is probable that the black bangles are preferred because black is, in some aspects, a protective colour, and, similarly, those of chank-shell because that material is in itself protective.)



CHILDREN'S AMULETS.

Sinhalese children wear, as a protection, a piece of metal shaped as in the left-hand figure above (and said to resemble, or to represent a heart), which has been charmed. This ornament, which is called *hṛida-wastuwa* ("heart treasure") is usually made of silver, although any metal (excepting brass, which is a "low caste," *i.e.*, base, metal) may be used, an alloy containing the five metals being especially suitable.

A protection against sicknesses of the chest, colds, etc., called by the same name and made of the same metals as the amulets just described, is a conical ornament, of the form shown at the right, which has been charmed.

Infants wear sometimes, it was said, small shells, at the neck, for the cure of a disease in which living beetles, which fly away, are given off in the excrement, and which affects the skin strongly. It is immaterial, it was said, what species of small shells are thus used; amongst some shown as suitable were a number of cowries.

For the cure of a child's cough a string of *magul-karanda* (*Pongamia glabra, Vent.* Leguminosae) seeds is worn at the neck. The seeds, which are believed to act by means of their intrinsic virtues, and are not charmed, are worn by the children of all races (including Sinhalese, Tamils, Moormen and Burghers) in Ceylon. One way of applying the cure is to hang seven of the seeds at the patient's neck, and to remove one each of the following days in succession until, with the removal of the last seed, the cough disappears. It seems, however, that this method is not always applied, and that the seeds are sometimes worn like ordinary amulets. Attached to the necklace of these seeds shown on Plate XVI, Fig. 7 (which was worn by a Tamil child), there is a small copper disc engraved with a device said to represent Siva's Bull and to secure Siva's favour and protection.

Bangles or anklets of iron, usually thin and light, or bracelets of iron chain, are often worn by children as protections against devils. As is the case with the amulets for cattle (see "Protection of cattle") these objects should be of *iron*, not of *steel*. (Plate XV (A), Fig. 5.)

Tamil girl-children in Ceylon often wear a protective "fig leaf" attached to a string round the waist, and young Tamil boys, less often, an elongated conical object corresponding to the "fig leaf." These objects are usually made of a soft white alloy or of silver, and are frequently accompanied by a number of other objects, some resembling bells, of conventional and archaic form (see Plate XV (A), Fig. 6, a silver "fig leaf"; Fig. 7, a silver "fig leaf" ornamented with a sun and a moon, to secure the protective influence of the luminaries; Fig. 8, a girl's waist-string of pewter objects; Fig. 9, a boy's waist-string of pewter objects). The girl's ornament is often, with young children, the only clothing worn; its amuletic intention (although frequently denied by the parents) is shown by its being worn sometimes beneath the clothing, even when the child is fully dressed. A form of it commonly sold in the bazars consists of a piece of coloured glass having the outline of a leaf, bound in and crossed longitudinally by a pewter frame. Although this ornament is commonly explained as representing a leaf of "The Sacred Bo-tree" (curiously, since the Tamils are not Buddhists), that explanation appears to be based on a merely fortuitous resemblance, and to be intended as a means of evading the giving of the real meaning, because, according to several informants, the amulet is really a representation of the *vulva*. The boys' ornament, which evidently is a conventionalized phallic form, is sometimes similarly explained as a toy for the child to play with, in order that he may not injure himself. The principles actually underlying the employment of these ornaments (unknown, no doubt, to many who make use of them), as explained to me, are that the devils are wont to "keep sight" on the generative organs, if these be exposed to view, thereby causing, possibly, serious injury to the child, and that therefore metal images of the organs, which cannot be thus injured, are hung near the organs themselves, to take the devils' "sight."

The children of Mohammedans sometimes wear these ornaments; those of Sinhalese Buddhists do not commonly, if at all.

See, for various notes, "Protection of infants," "*Pañchâyuda*," "Colours in . . . magic," and "Use of garlic in magic."

Charmed objects.—Charmed objects should not be worn when a funeral is attended, nor when sleeping near a woman in her menses, nor when having intercourse with any woman, lest they lose their efficacy. When the virtues of charmed objects have thus been lost they cannot, in general, be renewed, and, if the protections are to be replaced new objects must be taken for charming.

In some amulets the virtues are due entirely to the ceremonies to which the amulets have been subjected; in others they are inherent in the materials of which the amulets are composed, or in the amulets' forms, but may be intensified by charming ceremonies.

Pañchâyuda.—The *pañchâyuda*, "5 instruments" (Plate XV (A), Figs. 10 to 14 inclusive), is an amulet commonly worn by children, and occasionally, it was said, by adults. It is a metal piece, generally circular or elliptical, engraved with, or bearing in relief, five symbols, and it has been charmed. Sometimes, I have been told, the symbols which usually represent the five instruments are replaced by five simple dots. The amulet is generally of gold, more or less pure, or of silver, plain or gilded, as it is thought by some Sinhalese that the greater the intrinsic value the greater the efficacy is likely to be, although by others an alloy of the five metals (see "Metallic amulets") is considered to be the most suitable for the purpose. Sometimes iron is used in the construction (as in the one shown on Plate XV (A), Fig. 10), but only in a minor capacity (the explanation which was given of this was that iron is too common a metal and consequently displeasing to the deities invoked, as well as being too ugly for wear as an ornament; I am inclined to think, however, that the idea of iron as a protective metal probably conflicts with some of the ideas underlying the *pañchâyuda*). Occasionally the metal is enriched with precious stones; sometimes it is set with a single stone (as in Fig. 12, Plate XV (A), where, as also in a gold *pañchâyuda* noted, the gem is a pearl). The *pañchâyuda* is placed upon children, it was said, when they are weaned, a propitious day being chosen by an astrologer for the purpose; it was also said by the same informant, that the effect of the charming to which the *pañchâyuda* is subjected lasts seven years, at the expiration of which period it should, if the amulet is to continue in use, be repeated. The charming of the amulet is reputed to be a long and elaborate process, and months may elapse before a *pañchâyuda* which has been ordered is ready for wear. In consequence of this it is almost impossible to buy a *pañchâyuda* from the parents of a child who is wearing it, and worn specimens can usually only be obtained either from the parents or in the bazars after the children who have used them have grown up or died. The wearing of a *pañchâyuda* is sometimes concealed, as often the stricter Buddhist priests set themselves against it.

The information received concerning the five objects shown upon the *pañchâyuda* was of conflicting kinds. The symbols, which vary somewhat, seem

to represent, commonly, five of the following: a sword or knife, the *Para-walalla* ("Best-ring," usually shown as a ring with a plain or indented edge, a magical object whose properties are such that if it be thrown into the sea the sea will dry up, or if against the sky there will be no rain during seven years, or if into the earth precious stones and treasures hidden there will be discovered, etc.[1]), a chank-shell or possibly a musical instrument made of a chank-shell, a short spear, a trident, an elephant goad, a bow and arrow, and an axe. The five objects were said, by one informant, to be the emblems of five of the nine planetary deities, whose protection is thus sought: they are to be seen in pictures of those deities, and although they are emblems of other gods or demi-gods as well, I am inclined to his opinion. According to another informant, a man generally well versed in such matters, the symbols represent the weapons of various deities, ranging from Vishnu to the king of the devils, and all are objects feared by devils; by this informant it was said that five symbols were chosen in order to protect the five, figurative, not physical, "gates" of the body from the entrance of all evils. According to the labels upon the *pañcháyudas* exhibited at the Colombo Museum the symbols are those of "the five weapons of Vishnu." Most people questioned on the subject, even though they employed the *pañcháyuda* for their own children, seemed to know little concerning it, except that it should be powerfully charmed.

The *pañcháyuda* which is shown in Fig. 14, Plate XV (A), is of silver, and is sold new, at several shops in the bazar at Colombo; it is made also in circular form, and also of gilded silver. I am inclined to think that it is sold principally as an amuletic ornament to be used, without being charmed, by others than Sinhalese (and possibly by Sinhalese as well), and that it marks a step in the degradation of the *pañcháyuda* to a decorative ornament of which the amuletic origin has been forgotten.

Metallic amulets.—An amulet composed of "five metals" is shown on Plate XV (A), Fig. 15. Although it resembles in various ways an "electric medal" of European manufacture, it has been, according to several Sinhalese to whom it was shown, made in Ceylon, and is of a usual, though not very common type (it is, I think, the only specimen of the kind I have seen). The enclosing band is of a light yellow alloy, said, by one or two informants, to contain five metals within itself; the circular pieces (apparently sections of rods) of copper, zinc, or, possibly, some leaden alloy, and a darker yellow alloy; and the small suspending ring of silver. Even if not, as claimed, of Sinhalese manufacture, the specimen is interesting as showing an adaptation, or, possibly, a re-arrangement and modification, of a European protection to fit Sinhalese beliefs.

Another amulet composed of "five metals" (said to be gold, silver, copper, "bell metal," probably a grey bronze, and, apparently, a kind of yellow bronze), in this case mixed together, formed as a trident, a "three-pointed war instrument," is shown on Plate XV (A), Fig. 16. This object, which has been powerfully charmed,

[1] Upham, p. 118, calls the *Para-walalla* the warlike weapon of a deity.

is to be worn in the knot of hair at the back of the head or in the hat, for the purpose of causing its bearer to be invariably victorious in war, gambling, games or sports, and the like. See also "Use of iron in magic," and "Curative practices (cramp, etc.)."

Animal products.—The elephant, as in other Asiatic countries, on account of its nature as well as because of the Buddhist conceptions associated with it, supplies several sorts of amulets. Its ivory is considered to be protective against the effect of the jealous or envious eye, bad dreams, and the like, a virtue extended sometimes to bone (whether from some other animal or from an elephant, I did not learn), which, possibly through ignorance, is taken as ivory. A finger-ring of bone (Plate XVI, Fig. 8) and a perforated disc (Plate XVI, Fig. 4) of the same material suspended from a bullock's neck, both considered to be ivory and therefore protective, illustrate these beliefs. There is, in the Colombo Museum, a section of an elephant's jaw, mounted in silver, to be carried as an amulet; the same material, I have been told, ground in water which is used to rub upon the affected parts, will cure a certain disease, lasting about a week, one of the symptoms of which is a swelling about the jaw. The tail-hairs of elephants are mounted in gold, sometimes beautifully worked, as finger-rings, and thus worn are said to protect their bearers from the "sight" of devils, from bad dreams, from sicknesses in which the patient starts with fright (nervous diseases?), etc., and from the bites of dogs, cats, rats, foxes, wolves, and other animals; in order to secure the maximum effect the ring should be charmed. I have not seen in Ceylon the rings, formed entirely of elephant's hairs plaited together, which are used on the mainland. A bracelet (Plate XVI, Fig. 9) of plaited black hair, mounted with silver and bearing a small case containing charmed oil, was said by its wearer (a Tamil man) to be of elephant's hair, and consequently protective, although it is really of the hair of some smaller animal (horse?); here the black colour, whatever be the nature of the hair, is a protective factor. The hair-ropes worn by bullocks (see "Protection of cattle") were said to contain, sometimes, elephants' hair; this statement, which is a doubtful one, I was never able to verify.

The tiger also, as on the mainland, furnishes a number of protective substances. However, no distinction seems to be made between the tiger and the leopard where protective virtues are concerned, and, since I have repeatedly had pointed out to me, by various informants, leopard-claws, pieces of or even entire leopard-skins, etc., as those of tigers, I believe that when tigers are mentioned by the Sinhalese leopards are generally meant. I shall, therefore, speak of the products of both leopards and tigers herein as if they were those of tigers only.

There are two sets of beliefs in which the tiger appears as a protector—in one his virtues are due to his physical powers, in the other they are due to his assumption as an apparitional form by a devil. According to the former a tiger's tooth, or his claw, or one of his whiskers, or a piece of his skin, especially if charmed, will protect the wearer from attacks by wild beasts (wild buffaloes, especially) of any

kind, or by a mad dog. The dog, being a favourite prey of the tiger,[1] has a great dread of anything connected with his enemy. Should one wish to test the genuineness of a tooth for sale, as a tiger's, in the bazar (pigs' teeth are sometimes sold in substitution for tigers', wherefore, I was told, it is safer to buy a tiger's tooth from a Mohammedan merchant than from a Sinhalese or Tamil), it is only necessary to conceal it amongst some food and to offer the food to a dog; should the tooth be genuine the animal will not dare to touch the food. By virtue of this same property parts of the tiger protect their wearers from evil dreams, for the devil who causes such dreams comes at night riding upon a black dog which, fearing the tiger whose presence he scents, will not approach the sleeper. Some charmed tiger's-fat which was secured for me was said to have, if rubbed upon the body, or carried, in addition to the virtues enumerated above, the power of keeping away devils (especially the one causing small-pox), and, rubbed upon the forehead and the hand, that of giving victory in a fight. The Sinhalese do not appear to believe in the teeth, claws, etc., as protections against evil eyes and like influences.

According to the second set of beliefs the devil who causes small-pox sometimes appears, to persons in the extremities of that disease, as a tiger. In consequence of this various parts of real tigers are a common protection against small-pox, a little charmed tiger's oil carried in a case being a particular favourite. (The spotted appearance of the leopard suggests that it is that animal, rather than the striped tiger, which is connected in popular belief with small-pox.) On Plate XVI are shown a number of products of the tiger; Fig. 10, a tooth mounted as a pendant, with a silver band near the point to prevent splitting; Fig. 11, a tooth (said to be a tiger's, but probably only an imitation) mounted as a brooch in the form of a fish (see "Protection . . . . upon water"), as quite commonly sold in jewellers' shops of the better class; Fig. 12, an armlet of tiger's skin mounted with silver (another obtained, made of bits of skin sewn into an endless band, is not shown); Fig. 13, a silver case containing charmed tiger's-oil and worn at the wrist. The claws, mounted as pendants, are very commonly worn, although not always as protections.

Charmed lion's-oil is worn in an amulet case, or dropped into a cut in the flesh, by warriors, for protection (and evidently, though it was not so stated, to give courage).

To chank-shell, probably originally chosen because of its adaptability to the making of ornaments, various protective virtues are assigned by the Sinhalese, largely associated with its connection with religion. By people, finger-rings (Plate XVI, Figs. 14, 15, 16) of chank-shell are worn as protections from evil and misfortune, and, very commonly, as curative of pimples, particularly those upon the face. When used for the latter the patient occasionally passes his hand over his face, to increase the effect; powdered chank-shell, also, rubbed upon pimples, is

[1] The Malays, amongst other races, seem to hold the same idea; one of the charms for victory, given in *Malay Magic*, p. 522, contains the line

"Ha, I am a Tiger and thou art a Dog."

supposed to have a very beneficial effect. Some of the finger-rings are plain; others have a carved decoration, which, it was said, is merely decorative, not symbolic. Bangles of chank-shell are worn by children (see "Children's amulets"). Rings of white glass (Plate XVI, Fig. 17) are sometimes worn as a protection, because of their resemblance to chank-shell, and, I was told by one informant, coloured glass rings may be worn with the idea that they are coloured chank-shell. Entire chank-shells (Plate XVI, Fig. 18) are very commonly worn by draught-cattle, hung below or at the side of the neck, or upon the head between the horns (Plate XIV, Figs. 9 and 11), being held usually by the amuletic hair-ropes (see "Protection of cattle") or the steel chains. The shells thus used are sometimes plain, sometimes incised with a design, and are sold, in the shops dealing in teamsters' supplies, with a hole for the suspending cord to pass through knocked or bored in them. Instead of an entire shell a number of rings of chank-shell (Plate XVI, Fig. 19), strung generally upon a hair-rope, are sometimes used. The chank-shell is said to protect the animal from the evil attentions of Gopaḷuyaka, the devil who causes sickness in cattle.

Peacock feathers, formed into two bunches which are set together in the shape of a V, are placed upon the wall of a house, directly opposite to the entrance doorway, as a protection against many diseases and as a means of securing good-luck. The oil of peacocks, charmed, is good as a general protection, and serves particularly against snakebite.

A piece of unicorn's horn, mounted for wear, is sometimes carried as a cure for "heavy breathing" (asthma ?) and as a protection. An amulet consisting of a piece of some substance, apparently horn, mounted in silver (Plate XVI, Fig. 20) was not recognized by Sinhalese to whom it was shown, but they suggested that it was an imported medicinal amulet.

A deer's musk-sac, in which the musk has been replaced by a mixture of medicines (including a little musk), charmed, forms an exceptionally powerful amulet. It is a valuable protection against all kinds of misfortunes and perils; it brings luck in gaming and in war; it brings a man who is delirious or insensible, etc., to his senses, if placed in his hand. The specimen shown on Plate XVI, Fig. 21, is an amulet of this kind; there is, however, a possibility here that, instead of a genuine musk-sac (which is comparatively expensive) having been used, an imitation has been substituted.

See "Children's amulets" for small shells worn by infants; "Curative Practices (Lack of milk) (Cramp)" for bones of fishes; and "Charms to Secure Favour" for charmed egg-shells.

The following animal products, used as amulets, must be taken as being more or less mythical in origin.

Some serpents, of a very poisonous kind, contain luminous stones which they vomit up at night to give them light. Since it is impossible for them to live without these jewels, their possessors never go far away from them. The serpents which have these stones are not specially marked, but are recognizable only through

being seen with their stones. A stone is obtained, by anyone fortunate enough to discover its possessor, in the following way:—During the day the hunter erects, at a spot to which the serpent is known to come at night, a clean, polished, and thoroughly oiled palm trunk, with a platform or a crosspiece at the top. When evening comes he mounts this, taking with him a large package of cow-dung, and awaits the arrival of the serpent. When the serpent has set down his jewel, and gone a little way from it, the hunter drops the dung so that the jewel is covered by it. The serpent returns at once to seek its treasure, and, not finding it, attempts to climb the oiled pole in order to reach its enemy, until it dies at last of rage and the effect of the loss of the jewel. The stone thus obtained confers, after having been charmed, enormous and extraordinary powers upon its possessor; it is also an exceptionally valuable amulet against serpents.

A luminous stone is also borne by certain lizards, which may be recognized by their possession of two tails. It is impossible to obtain this stone by killing the lizard, for if it be within the animal, it melts away the instant that death occurs. In order to obtain the jewel the lizard possessing it is placed in a covered pot having a small hole in the bottom, beneath which is a second pot. The animal, finding itself in darkness, brings forth its stone, which at once rolls down the inside of the pot and through the hole; soon after this happens the lizard dies. The stone, like that of the snakes, confers, after having been charmed, enormous and extraordinary powers upon its possessor.[1]

The leader or chief of each band of jackals (the animal described to me, and named in English, was a fox, but the Sinhalese names given for it, *nariya* and *ḳenihila*, mean either jackal or fox; I am inclined to the former animal, partly because of the colour of the horn, partly because of the S. Indian belief noted below) bears upon his forehead a small horn (about ½ inch long, covered with greyish white skin, and with a fringe of hair round the middle). This horn is sometimes lost by the animal, which, rubbing its head in a heap of paddy left lying about, breaks the horn off. The horn reveals its presence by preventing the boiling of the water into which the paddy is put during the process of cleaning, and is then searched for and discovered. The authenticity of a horn of this kind may be proved by placing it amongst some rice-grains which are offered to fowls, for, if the horn be genuine, the fowls, fearing an enemy, will not come near the food. A horn of this kind, after being charmed, is worn in a case upon the arm, and serves as a powerful protection against all evils, and as a means of securing good-fortune of every kind, in gambling, in racing, in the seeking of favours, etc.[2]

Vegetable Products.—It is believed that the king of the devils, Wesamuṇu,

[1] In Clough's *Dict.*, p. 238, a stone of somewhat similar nature is described, under *Daḷamutu*, as a fabulous pearl said to grow in the snout of the hog.

[2] Much information concerning the manufacture, sale, and purpose of jackals' horns, in Southern India, is to be found in Thurston's *Eth. N. in S. India*, pp. 266, 270. See also Tennent's *Ceylon*, 4th ed., vol. i, p. 145.

sometimes uses a rod of rattan for punishing his refractory subjects, and that, in consequence, devils have a great dread of that material. A proof of their dread is that rattan is especially efficacious in curing madness (possession) by whipping, the mere sight of it sometimes quieting the patient. People sometimes carry, while out, a small cane (but not a mere fragment) of rattan, to protect themselves from devils.

See also "Use of garlic in magic"; and "Children's amulets."

Medicinal Substances.—There is a very powerful charmed oil called *Chandrakánti* ("Moonbeam"), which, if carried (on cotton wool, in an amulet case) or rubbed on the top of the head after the bath, protects its bearer from contracting contagious diseases, even though he go amongst people suffering from such diseases, and from wounds. If a little be put into the nose and ears of a person who is insensible, or in an epileptic fit, and another person blow upon him, the patient will at once recover. The oil is made by mixing together five kinds of oil, cow's milk, the juices of certain leaves, barks, roots, and the like, and is then subjected to a religious charming by being kept (amongst the various other things which are to take up some of the effects of the blessings) in the "shed" during the Buddhist preaching ceremonies, performed by a large number of priests officiating together, for the relief of a village suffering from, or threatened by, disease or misfortune. When these ceremonies have been concluded the oil is taken to an empty room (preferably in a vacant house) where there are no women about, and is charmed by three men who, taking turns at the work, recite mantras continuously during a period of seven days and nights, so that the sound of the charming does not stop, even for an instant. The oil, whose treatment is then complete, should be kept as much as possible from impurity (see "Impurity"). The oil, ready for use, may be obtained from native drug vendors at Colombo.

There are charmed pills called *Sanni-sinha-guliye* (devils' lion [or pre-eminent] pills; that is, it was said, "pills which, like a lion, frighten the devils"), formed of a mixture of various medicinal substances, one of which, worn in an amulet case, or tied in a piece of cloth, upon the right arm, will protect the wearer from all illnesses, against the attacks of all kinds of devils, from any of the effects of an evil eye or envy, and from wounds. For the charming of these pills they are placed in a vessel, round which a thread is passed three times, and exposed to the effect of Buddhist sutras, continuously read by two or more men, without allowing the sound to stop for an instant, during seven days and nights. They are then completed by a charming ceremony, conducted in an empty room, similar to that used for the oil described above. Like the oil, they should be preserved from the effect of impurity. They may be obtained from native drug-vendors at Colombo.

A charmed mixture, called *Añjanema(?)*, of a considerable number of medicinal substances will, if carried in an amulet case worn on the arm or at the neck, protect its bearer from evils and injuries of every kind, from devils, from all diseases, from snakebite, from dogbite, from attacks of bulls, etc. It is supplied

wrapped up in a betel-leaf (an honourable material), in which, in order to preserve its efficacy, it should be kept.

There is a charmed mixture of several medicinal substances which is worn to secure the protection of the four guardian gods. During the seven days required for its grinding its maker should eat only vegetables, and he should grind the mixture only at noon each day. During the grinding he, together with the grinding stones (which should be new), should be covered with a white cloth, and his mouth should be screened by a white cloth in order that his breath may not defile the mixture (and, probably, partly for his own protection against the cobra-poison which is one of the ingredients). When the grinding is finished the mixture is charmed for seven days, before being removed from the stones.

A certain charmed oil which is used to enforce chastity, especially by jealous husbands about to leave for a journey, and sometimes to cause annoyance to people whom the user of it dislikes, has the effect of preventing its bearer from separating from his (or her) partner after intercourse. The oil is generally rubbed upon its bearer's person or clothing, and has then an effect lasting about one week; should it, however, be rubbed upon the subject's mattress, a longer efficacy, up to about two years, may be obtained. A mantra is recited over the finger with which the rubbing is to be done, and another during the process of rubbing.

Finger rings.—A metal finger ring ornamented with a small image of the *Para-walalla* (a magical ring; see "Amulets, *Pañcháyuda*") is a valuable protection.

A metal finger ring ornamented with a certain heart-shaped piece (similar in form to that shown under "Children's amulets") is worn as a protection.

A finger ring, preferably of gold, set with a ruby surrounded by pearls (at least three pearls ought to be used, although two are sometimes considered enough), if properly charmed will protect the wearer's entire family.

A finger-ring of black glass is, because of its colour, considered protective (Plate XVI, Fig. 31).

See "Astrology" for planetary (including *Nawaratna*) rings; and "Amulets (Animal products)" for finger rings of bone, or set with or formed of elephant's hair or chank shell, and for coloured glass rings.

Inserted amulets.—A charmed pellet of gold, inserted beneath the skin, will protect the bearer from dangers of every description. (In one man I knew, the gold, about the size of a small birdshot, had been put beneath the skin of the neck, toward the right side.) The pellet having been made, it is charmed, upon a "decorated chair," on three Sundays (note the conjunction with *gold*) in succession, after which it is placed in charmed oil. The skin is cut with a golden instrument (made by thinning and sharpening a piece of gold; an *iron* instrument must by no chance be used) which has been charmed, and, the wound having been cleansed with some charmed woman's milk, the pellet is inserted. When this has been done the wound is salved with charmed *ghee*, and is finally bandaged with a white cloth wet with water coloured with saffron. After seven days the cloth is removed, when the wound will be found to have healed completely.

See "Yantras" for charms to be tatued upon the body; and "Protection (Snakebite)" and "Amulets (Animal products)" for oils to be injected into the flesh.

Yantras.—Yantras are written charms, often astrological in character, which are used for protection, for curing, or for causing injury. Those for protection are carried upon the person, or kept, sometimes framed and hung like decorative pictures, in the house; those for curing are carried upon the person, usually tied to or strung upon a cord round the waist; those for causing injury are the material objects by means of which the evil influences called forth are brought, through actual contact, through "stepping over," or otherwise, into touch with the victim.

Yantras are usually engraved upon sheets of metal or upon ola-leaves, although they are occasionally written upon paper. Paper is, however, considered to be very unsuitable for the purpose, since if it becomes torn or otherwise injured, as may easily happen, the efficacy of the yantra may be changed or cancelled by the complete destruction or the changing of the form of some of its component characters (as R may be changed to P, or L to I, for example, in English). Preferably metal is used, gold, silver, copper, or some hard or soft white alloy, the more expensive the better (because the deities or benevolent devils whose assistance is desired are pleased with good things). Copper, often gilded, is probably the most usual metallic base. Poor people, who are unable to afford the expense of engraved metal, use ola-leaves, especially if the yantras (like most of those for curing) are for merely temporary employment, after which their efficacy ceases. It is usually such yantras as these, the need for whose application has ceased to exist, and not protective yantras, which are obtainable as specimens. Protective yantras are sometimes tatued upon the body.

The contents of yantras vary greatly; some contain merely inscriptions, to which, in others, magical symbols, such as the pentacle or the double triangle, are added, while others have elaborate, and sometimes beautifully executed pictorial designs. Many of the yantras are based upon some "magic square." Drawings of yantras for various purposes, written upon ola-leaves, each with an inscription indicating its intention, are kept in books by the charmers, and copies of them are made as required. Usually, if not always, a yantra is charmed before it is used, and in many cases the charms (mantras) proper to them accompany the drawings which are to be copied. There may sometimes be found upon yantras, when they have not been too long in use, traces of the charming to which they have been subjected, as the saffron staining of the binding cord, or a little incense powder. Being charmed objects yantras should, as much as possible, be protected from contact with (ceremonial) uncleanness; they will not be effective, for example, if placed upon a woman during her menses or the seven days following them.

Yantras are usually for the purpose of correcting unpropitious or harmful planetary influences causing misfortune or sickness. When such is the case the horoscope (see "Astrology, Horoscopes") of the person afflicted is consulted, and by the aid of the data thence obtained selection of the proper yantra is made.

Yantras usually protect from the malign influences of one, or of several of the planets in conjunction, but there are some which will protect their bearers from malign influences emanating from any of the planets. What was said to be an astrologer's copy (on an ola-leaf) of such a yantra, a variety difficult to devise and, it was said, rather rare, came into my possession in Ceylon; I obtained there also a yantra of similar character, inscribed on copper, said to secure for its bearer the protection of all the nine planets.

When they are to be carried, the sheets upon which the yantras are inscribed are usually rolled up and wrapped round with cord, after which they are often placed in amulet cases of metal. The amulet cases used vary in quality to suit the fancies and purses of the wearers. They are of the type common in the Nearer and Middle East, consisting each of an inner cylinder of common metal, closed at one end, into which the yantra is slipped, over which slides a closely-fitting outer cylinder, closed at the opposite end, of such material and workmanship as may be desired. Silver, some hard white alloy (such as German-silver), copper, and brass are the materials most commonly used for the outer cylinders. Some forms of such amulet cases are shown on Plate XVI, Figs. 22, 23, 24, 25. Yantras upon metal (Plate XVI, Fig. 26) seem to be less often carried without cases than those upon ola-leaves, due perhaps to the greater difficulty of keeping them from contamination, and, possibly, to some discomfort caused by the sharp edges.

Yantras upon ola-leaves are very frequently carried without a metal case. They are brought into small compass, and are then bound with cord (as shown in the specimens on Plate XVI, Figs. 27, 28, 29, 30, illustrating some of the numerous methods of cording). A few turns, usually two or three, are taken round the packet, and the cord is then twisted amongst and across these before passing to form the next set of turns. Sometimes the cording is very carefully done, and presents a quite artistic appearance. I do not know whether the various patterns used differ in significance; I think that they are merely matters of fashion or taste—for example, the two packets shown in Figs. 27 and 28 are old, I was told, because the particular style of wrapping and cording they exhibit has not, since a considerable number of years, been used in the Colombo district, whence they came. Frequently the ola-leaf has no covering except the cording; sometimes a piece of cloth is put on. In one of my specimens the sole covering is a thin sheet of gilded copper.

Should the wearer of a protective yantra be exposed to envy, jealousy, or the like, in such a manner that, but for his yantra, he would be injured, his yantra may burst its covering.

When, as sometimes happens, a large sheet is required for the inscription of a yantra, several broad ola-leaves are sewn together along their edges in the direction of their length, and the yantra is inscribed upon these as if upon a single sheet.

In addition to yantras for the purposes specifically mentioned above, there are yantras for the protection of children, for the cure of a crying child, for the cure of many different maladies and the effects of sorcery, for the protection of a

house and its inmates from all manner of evils, and for many other purposes. There are yantras which, written out and carried, or tatued upon the breast or arms, protect their bearers from wounds and injuries of all kinds; a yantra, with the figure of the King of the Cobras, protects against the bites of serpents; and another, including the figure of a fish, used in like manner, protects from dangers of every kind in or upon the water.

A yantra called *Ratana* (?) yantra (jewel (?) yantra), which may be carried on the person as a protection against lightning, is sometimes kept in a house, within a sort of little cubicle formed of white cloth, which preserves it from dust and dirt, before which a little incense is burned each evening. By the attentions thus paid certain of the deities are pleased and thereby caused to extend their protection, against all evils, to the house, and especially Aruchéna (see "Protection, Lightning"), who preserves it from danger by lightning.

There are other yantras which, kept in a house, will bring the good-will and favour of other people, and much business, to their possessors. See "Thieves (charms used by, etc.)" for yantras to protect against theft.

Amongst the yantras I obtained was one, inscribed upon a thin sheet of soft white metal, partially covered with wax produced by a certain kind of small black bee, and enclosed in a white metal amulet case. It was said to be a remedy for any one of seven kinds of eruptive epidemic diseases (small-pox, chicken-pox, and the like), and, when used, had to be tied upon the patient's bed. It (together with its wax) had been charmed during a period of nineteen days in a place to which there came no sound of ordinary human life. Together with a number of others it was prepared in anticipation by a charmer, upon the approach to his village of an epidemic of the kind mentioned, and was sold to the villagers when the sickness attacked them.

Description of Plates.

Plate XI. Objects from a Devil-Dancer's Outfit [Set I].

Plate XII. Objects from Devil Dancers' Outfits.
Figs. 1, 2, 3.—Masks, Set II, Nos. *k*, *o*, *n*.
Fig. 4.—False Mouth, Set II, No. *q*.
Fig. 5.—Paper Crown, Set III, No. *d*.
Fig. 6.—Red jacket, Set III, No. *a*.
Fig. 7.—Wooden Doll for use in Conception Ceremony.
Fig. 8.—Torch used in dancing.

Plate XIII. Representations of Devils.

Plate XIV.
Figs. 1, 2, 3.—Representations of devils.
Fig. 4.—Altar outside patient's house.
Fig. 5.—Drum-beater for devil-dancing.
Fig. 6.—Devil's blue dress with Nâga mask.

Fig. 7.—Devil's red dress with Garuda and snake mask.
Fig. 8.—Dancer dressed for a conception ceremony.
Fig. 9.—Bullock with protective branding.
Fig. 10.—Bullock wearing iron amulet at neck.
Fig. 11.—Bullock wearing chank shell and hair-rope on horns.

PLATE XV. A. Amulets.
Fig. 1.—Charmed thread.
Fig. 2.—Armlet for cramp.
Fig. 5.—Iron child's anklet.
Figs. 6, 7.—Silver Tamil "fig-leaves."
Fig. 8.—Pewter Tamil girl's waist-string.
Fig. 9.—Pewter Tamil boy's waist-string.
Figs. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.—*Pañchâyuda.*
Fig. 15.—Amulet made of five metals.
Fig. 16.—Amulet of alloy of five metals.
B. Votive Offerings.

PLATE XVI. Amulets.
Fig. 1.—Bone for cramp.
Fig. 2.—Infant's wrist amulet.
Fig. 3.—Iron amulet for bullock.
Fig. 4.—Bone ("ivory") amulet for bullock.
Fig. 5.—Medicinal amulet for bullock.
Fig. 6.—Black glass "Breaking Bangle."
Fig. 7.—Seeds for cough.
Fig. 8.—Bone ("ivory") finger ring.
Fig. 9.—Hair bracelet.
Fig. 10.—"Tiger's" tooth.
Fig. 11.—"Tiger's" tooth.
Fig. 12.—"Tiger"-skin armlet.
Fig. 13.—"Tiger" oil in case.
Figs. 14, 15, 16.—Finger rings of chank shell.
Fig. 17.—Finger ring of white glass.
Fig. 18.—Chank shell for bullock.
Fig. 19.—Hair-rope with chank shell rings, for bullock.
Fig. 20.—Amulet of horn.
Fig. 21.—Charmed musk-sac.
Figs. 22, 23.—Metal amulet cases.
Figs. 24, 25.—Amulet cases on silver chains.
Fig. 26.—Yantra on copper.
Figs. 27, 28, 29, 30.—Yantras on ola-leaves.
Fig. 31.—Black glass finger ring.

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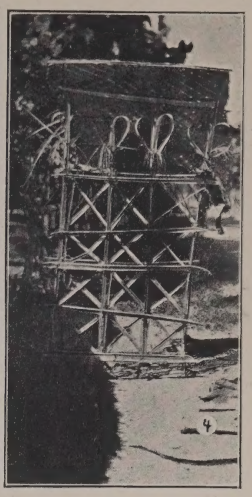
PART OF A DEVIL-DANCER'S OUTFIT.

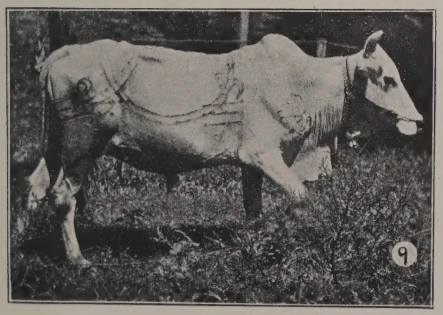
SINHALESE MAGIC.

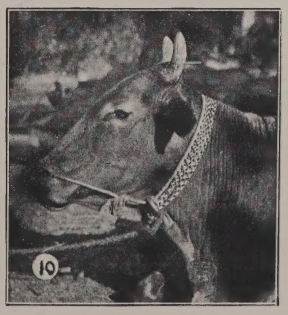
OBJECTS USED IN DEVIL-DANCING.

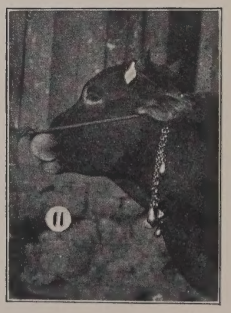
SINHALESE MAGIC.

SINHALESE MAGIC.

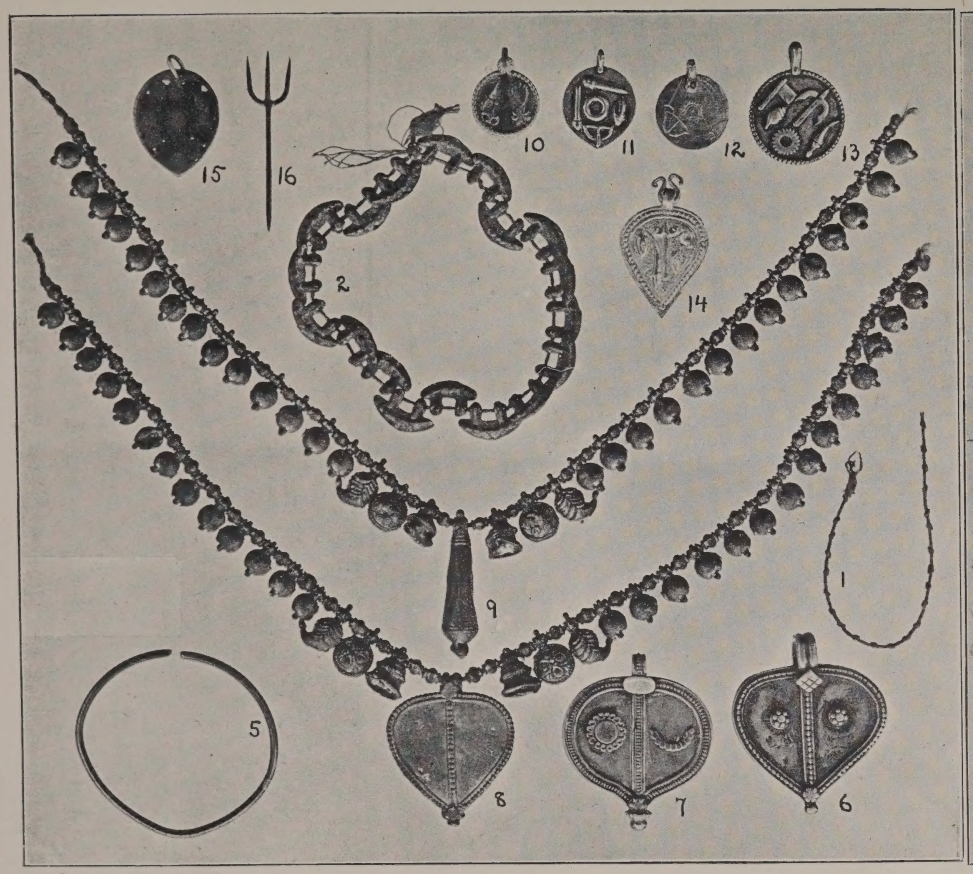








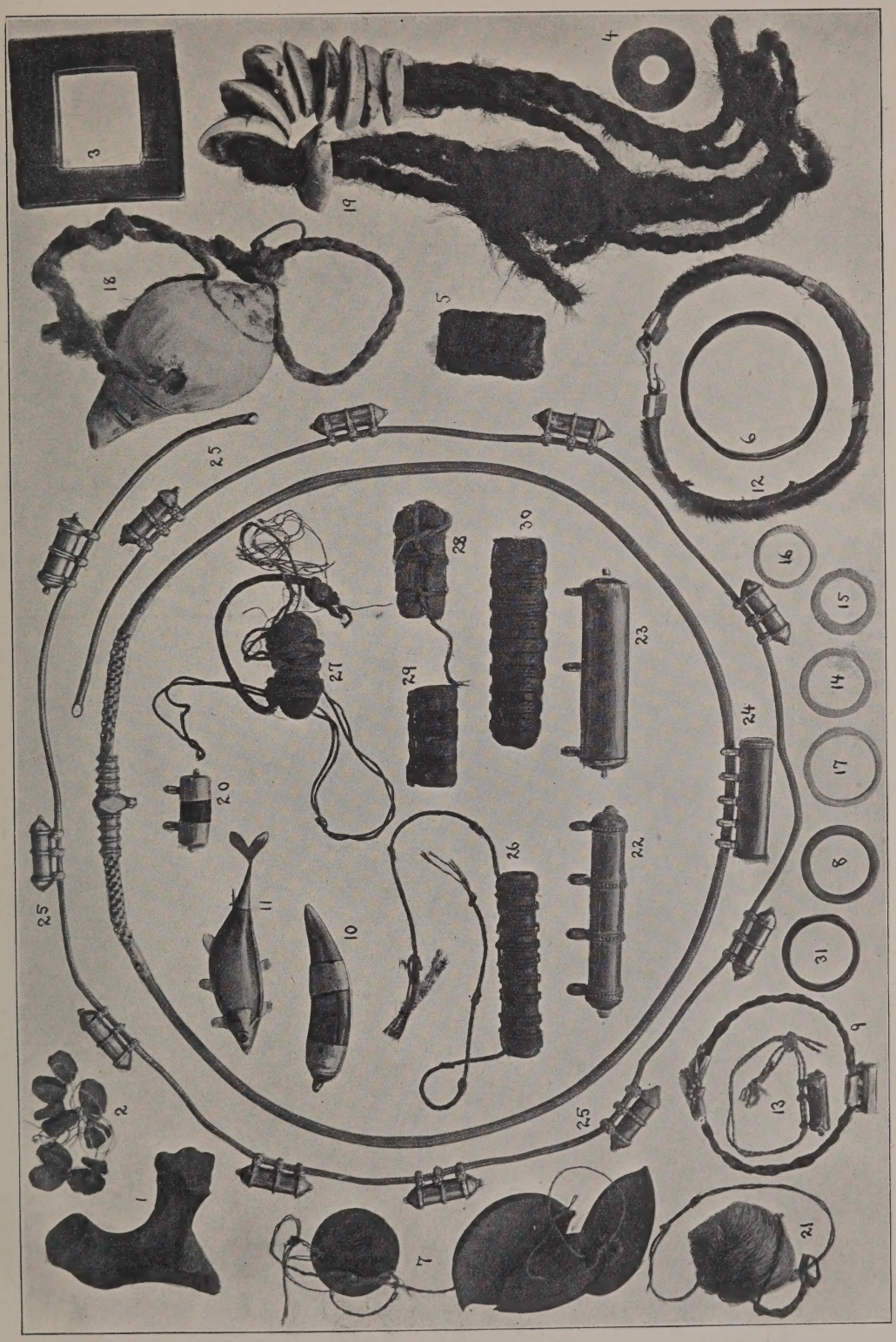
SINHALESE MAGIC.



A.—AMULETS.

B.—METAL VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

SINHALESE MAGIC.



AMULETS AND AMULET CASES.
SINHALESE MAGIC.

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